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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1903.

The Week.

Senator Hanna's discomfiture over the question of endorsing President Roosevelt for renomination in the Ohio State Convention next month followed upon a pretty entanglement. He is against such endorsement, though Senator Foraker and apparently a majority of Ohio Republicans are for it. But does that mean that Mr. Hanna is himself a candidate? Oh, no; we have the word of one of his most active "lieutenants" that the Senator is not a candidate—though the frank man immediately added that "some of his friends think he is." Nor must any one rashly infer that Mr. Hanna is opposed to Roosevelt's renomination. He says that he expects it, and that there will be no opposition. Why, then, did the Ohio Senator speak of the attempt to get the State Convention to endorse as a "malicious" plan of his enemies? Ah, there you come upon a subtle principle of political ethics. Mr. Hanna is not only Senator, he is National Chairman. As such he—and *à fortiori* the State which he controls—must remain neutral. If his Convention were to declare for Roosevelt, "other candidates" would be "discouraged" and would accuse Chairman Hanna of partiality. "But, Senator, we thought there were no other candidates?" At this point appears the *deus ex machina* in the person of the President himself, saying that he desires the Convention's endorsement. "Why, then, of course," says Hanna.

A suspicious number of Senators and Representatives are hovering about the postal-frauds investigation in Washington. They are there to see that none of their creatures in the Department get hurt. They are there also to see that no retrenchment shall be allowed. Even the rural free-delivery service, the appropriation for which has been overdrawn by nearly a quarter of a million, must proceed upon its present lavish and illegal basis, the Postmaster-General declares, and Congress be asked to make up the deficit. These are the pernicious influences that threaten to make the whole inquiry abortive. We do not complain at the investigation being so long drawn out; a prolonged examination is doubtless necessary in order to uncover all the facts. But what we do find wholly out of place is the deprecatory and nerveless attitude of Postmaster-General Payne. He neither acts nor talks like an aroused executive officer determined to root out the scandals and to turn out the rascals. The situation cries

aloud for a vigorous chief who will give the investigation an unmistakable edge. Complacent interviewing of interested politicians is peculiarly ill-timed. We should be glad, indeed, to see Mr. Payne show for a few moments the spirit of Robert Lowe. That statesman once objected to shaking hands with a politician (as he took him to be), whereupon the latter protested, "But, Mr. Lowe, you know me quite well." "Yes, indeed, I know you far too well, and I don't want to have anything more to do with you."

We are daily getting light upon the influence of war on national life. Mr. Heath and Mr. Tulloch have enabled us to see what happens in a great department of the Government when hostilities have begun and the usual safeguards and restrictions are done away with. Now comes the Commissioner of Pensions with the startling announcement that more than 22 per cent. of the "veterans" of the war with Spain have already applied for aid from the Government. He has not only had 65,000 applications, but they are pouring in upon him by the hundred, although it is but just five years and one month since the war began. Only about 15,000 troops, it will be remembered, were under fire at Santiago, and probably not more than 6,000 seamen and marines saw active service. Of the 65,000 applications, 57,046 come from invalids, and 8,390 from widows and dependents. At the close of 1872, seven years after the end of the civil war, only about 6 per cent. of the Union soldiers had applied for Government aid, although that war lasted five years instead of a few months. As the soldiers of the Spanish war were all carefully examined by surgeons before enlistment, it would seem that there has been a marked deterioration in the physique of our young Americans in the last forty years. Whether this be so or not, there has plainly been a marked falling off in their manhood, and a shocking increase in their readiness to apply for Government aid.

Gov. Yates of Illinois has signed the Mueller bill, granting to the cities of that State the right to own their own street railway lines and to lease them for twenty-year terms, or operate them, if they choose to do so. The Governor hesitated long, and finally acted with great reluctance, but did not care to fly in the face of public sentiment in Chicago and elsewhere, even in order to please the Chicago boss, who, after the manner of his kind, was making frantic efforts to secure undue privileges for favorite corporations. The enactment of

the Mueller bill, which will forever prevent the granting or renewal of long-time street-railway franchises in Chicago, as well as in other cities of Illinois, is the work of public opinion, aroused and directed toward the accomplishment of practical, affirmative results. For years the street railway companies of Chicago have been struggling to obtain long-term renewals of their expiring franchises. Once they succeeded in securing a bill from the Legislature permitting the renewals, but the city authorities dared not act in the face of public protests. Organized bodies of citizens took the matter in hand, and as a result the next Legislature was forced to repeal the law. The Council was purged largely as a result of a public demand for the protection of the franchise rights belonging to the people.

It is a singular fact that the impulse toward municipal betterment felt strongly during the last decade in all cities has taken, in Chicago, almost to the exclusion of everything else, the form of this demand for the safeguarding of franchise rights. Thus the Administration of Mayor Harrison, vulnerable in so many other respects, has been able to maintain its power for many years because it has succeeded in associating itself in the public mind with this principle. The fight between the corporations and the citizens of Chicago has been long and bitter, but the Mueller bill, passed by a reluctant Legislature and approved by a hesitating, unwilling Governor, has easily given the victory to the people. The bill possesses many of the features of the Elsberg Rapid Transit bill, introduced in our own Legislature for the purpose of giving the city control of the subways, but defeated in the closing hours of the session. Like that measure, it provides for short-time leases of lines owned by the city, and permits municipal operation in case proper terms cannot be secured from the leasing companies. It is unlikely that the city will undertake municipal operation, though the fact that it possesses the right to do so, at its option, is expected to give it the upper hand in negotiations with applicants for leases.

Gov. Odell's account of the State finances, given in his memorandum approving the 13-100 of one mill direct tax, is satisfactory. The appropriations of the Legislature of 1903, which also received the Governor's approval, amount to a total of \$23,497,442. This is \$1,500,537 more than a year ago, but this sum is more than accounted for by items of extraordinary expense, so that the regular cost of administering the State

government is not heightened. A single item carries \$1,300,000 of the actual increase. This amount is to be expended in providing quarters for the growing population of the insane hospitals, and is an expenditure fully justified. The additional receipts for the State resulting from the increase of the excise tax are estimated by the Governor at \$5,005,750, slightly more than was expected. The surplus, instead of being depleted, will thus be enlarged during the coming year, and the suspension of the direct tax for at least two years longer is practically assured, except, of course, for the small canal-debt tax, which must still be direct under the Constitution.

Everybody will sympathize with the troubles of Lieut.-Gov. Higgins. The poor man went to Syracuse to attend the meeting of the State Fair Commission, fondly presuming that, as the second officer of the State and an American citizen, he could select what hotel he pleased. But no sooner had he got fairly settled in the hostelry of his choice than he was informed that the Barbers' Union was in trouble with the management thereof, and that he would have to leave. This was mortifying to the Lieutenant-Governor, but, of course, he had no alternative. Labor had exercised its *liberum veto*, and a mere elected official had to yield. He meekly transferred himself and the headquarters of the Fair Commission to another hotel, not under the ban of the barbers. Our chief cause of regret is that the Union was not considerate enough to tell Mr. Higgins in advance just what he had to do. It is awkward to assume the air of being your own master, and then be cruelly reminded that you are not. The next time our brave Lieutenant-Governor leaves home, the Union should provide him with full travelling directions, telling him just what railways and trolleys are not "scab," and just what inns are unionized. Then he can at least keep up the appearance of being a free man, though in reality a slave.

The spirit in which New York commemorates, this week, the story of her birth and growth, will be a good test of the character of her citizens. Celebration of a wonderful past may induce either a noble pride or a foolish vain-glory. It is like going into a gallery where the portraits of our ancestors hang. They are ours, and yet not ours—ours if we cherish their example and practise their virtues; not ours if the unworthy life of the descendants casts its shame backwards upon the progenitors. So, to-day, in re-reading the marvellous annals of our great city, in going back to her remote beginnings—as the New World reckons age—in counting her towers and marking her bul-

works, we shall fail utterly of the due effect of this festive week unless we attain something better in the way of civic feeling. A large part of the city's public life has, after all, to be written in our municipal government; and how to keep that honest and worthy of no mean city should be the question asked by all of us this week. We may well felicitate ourselves that the vulgar bandit, Croker, is not here to-day to represent the city as he did at the time of the Dewey celebration. That we have at this time of celebration a Mayor who can act and speak as a gentleman, is cause, not only for rejoicing, but for high resolve. We must not allow the barbarians to overwhelm us again. We must see to it that the "great humanity which beats along the stony streets" of New York shall find its expression and safety in a government made up of our best citizenship.

Five Councilmen in a Pennsylvania town have determined to put the new libel law to the test. A local newspaper, it appears, charged them with having brought pressure to bear on a railroad company with the object of securing passes. This charge caused the Councilmen to suffer great mental pain and anguish, for which they are to demand compensatory damages. Having read Gov. Pennypacker's memorandum in approval of the libel law, they naturally think that damages should be heavy. It is not likely, however, that either town Councilmen or Governors in Pennsylvania will long be content with this sort of legal relief. Having once made a start in defence of pure patriots in office, too often sadly misunderstood, the only logical next step is to increase the penalty. The inefficiency of the new law has already been demonstrated, though it has been little more than a fortnight in operation. It is powerless to aid Gov. Pennypacker to defend himself against the storm of ridicule which has followed his approval of the bill. To bring civil suits for damages would only increase the absurdity of his position. We think that the Governor, in order to save himself, will have to secure the reenactment of the law he alluded to so feelingly, whereby he may draw and quarter cartoonists, Bishops, and others who lampoon him.

The first extensive and sweeping settlement of the labor troubles now or lately afflicting the country comes from Denver, a locality in which we should hardly have expected to find a precious example of moderation and good sense. That city, like many others, has been lately divided into opposing camps of capital and labor, and the organizations have been so complete that they have seemed to reproduce the old fable of the belly and the members. But just as the starving process was about to begin, a

committee of the Chamber of Commerce and of a local labor union came together, and made a settlement which was ratified on both sides, and all strikes, lock-outs, and boycotts were declared off. The dispatches say that the victory seems to be with the laboring men. It would be ungracious to deny them praise for the conciliatory mood which they have displayed, but we observe that while the agreement forbids employers to discharge workmen because of their affiliations with unions, it also permits them to employ non-union men. The other terms of settlement are equally honorable to both sides, embracing a plan of arbitration for all existing disputes in all trades whatsoever. Such an agreement is well worth studying by other cities similarly perturbed.

The collapse of the strike on the Government railways in Australia was due, as Mr. Irvine, the Premier, stated in an interview, to the overwhelming force of public opinion and the determination of the people that the Government should be supreme. Although the strikers were Government employees, they had allied themselves with a trade union which bound them to obey the orders of that organization rather than those of their employer, the State. This action was in conflict with the regulations under which they were serving. The Government, accordingly, ordered them to sever their connection with this outside society. They refused to do so, and a general strike of engine drivers and firemen followed. Parliament was summoned in extra session, and the Premier introduced a bill making participation in the strike punishable by fine and imprisonment. In his speech he said that this was not a movement for higher wages or better conditions of labor, but a deliberate and long meditated revolt against established authority, and that all other business must be suspended until the revolt was put down.

The bill provided that any employee who left work without due notice, and any person interfering in any way with employees at work, or distributing strike funds, or encouraging the strike, should be subject to the penalties of the bill. The police were empowered to enter strike meetings and disperse the people attending them. This measure was introduced on the 15th of May, and the Premier declared that he would accept no communication from the strikers but unconditional surrender. Two days later the surrender came. Before this, however, the men had begun to desert the union singly or in small groups, so that fifty trains were running before the strike was formally declared off. Of course, this strike differed entirely from an ordinary one, since its success would have been a subversion of the Government. This fact

was realized by the entire legislative body, including the special representatives of labor in the Parliament, who admitted in the debates that the position of the strikers was untenable.

The *Financial Chronicle* prints figures showing that the circulating medium has increased \$114,000,000 during the past twelve months; that is, from May 1, 1902, to May 1, 1903. Reference to the details given in the Treasury reports shows that \$78,000,000 of this increase consists of gold certificates, for each dollar of which a gold dollar is deposited in the Treasury. Notwithstanding this increase in the quantity of the metallic currency, there is a perceptible tremor in the stock market every time that a small shipment of gold is made to Europe or to South America. Against the increase of \$78,000,000 for a single year in our stock on hand, the greater part of which has come from our own mines, the outflow, with the present movement, has been only \$3,605,000—an amount quite insignificant when measured by our total holdings or our annual increase.

There is no more refreshing reading nowadays than the debate going on between Count Reventlow and Rear-Admiral Melville as to the merits of the German battleships. The courtly and gallant Chief Engineer of the United States navy is bent on wiping out the insult to the Emperor's fleet which came from the mouth of our indiscreet hero, Dewey—or which was, at least, attributed to him. Melville chivalrously insists that the Emperor's ships are the better; Reventlow, with his lowest bow, is equally positive that they are quite inferior. "After you, Count," exclaims to-day our own polite Chief Engineer; "your ships have my pet triple screw feature, are free from luxurious fittings, and are faster." We have no idea that the worthy Count will allow himself to be put down in this way. He is, it must be confessed, a sly dog, and fears the Greeks bearing gifts. Melville, he explains, is not talking as he does to compliment Germany, but to get more and better ships at home. True enough, but if there is any other reason for Reventlow's running down his country's fleet we should like to know it. This is the real aim of all naval controversies and revelations—to show the taxpayer how necessary it is for him to put his hand into his pocket again. But if it comes to a choice between the calling of names and the friendly rivalry of Melville and Reventlow, we are quite willing to have these doughty disputants keep up their contest in compliments all summer.

M. Rouvier, the French Minister of Finance, is confronted by a deficit of

nearly \$25,000,000. Next year's budget threatens even increased expenditures. A vast extension of schools will be necessary, through the dispersal of the teaching orders, but it is certain other items which are causing widespread uneasiness. The "projet de loi Bertaux," containing sweeping innovations in regard to the personnel of the French railway systems and the retiring pensions of railway employees, has twice passed the Chamber of Deputies, and now waits only the action of the Senate. This alone would involve an increase in annual expenditure reckoned at about \$20,000,000. Then, too, the question of State purchase of some of the principal lines has again come to the fore. To meet these prospective outlays M. Rouvier has been driven to some unusual tax proposals. France has already a cumbersome door and window tax. She has also an excessively elaborate "contribution de patente"—tax not upon total incomes, but upon trade profits so far as they can be estimated from external indications. This tax falls into three parts—a fixed duty determined by the nature of the business; a rate varying with the rent of the premises; and a sort of license duty for the specific business carried on. M. Rouvier would abolish the archaic door and window tax, and extend the "contribution de patente" to incomes in general. But an income tax based on the declaration of the individual may not, and sometimes does not, work equitably. Also, governmental assessment on the basis of purely external criteria may prove thoroughly fallacious and easily unjust. Given a government in straits for money, the appraising of personal income may exhibit an imaginative power that is fairly startling to the "contribuable." The Italian recognizes this diabolic ingenuity on the part of his Government, and makes the avoidance of it part of the education of his children. However, the latest dispatches indicate that the French Cabinet has become impressed with the virtue of retrenchment, and will in the end prefer a heroic cutting down of expenditure to either borrowing or devising yet more elaborate and searching schemes of taxation.

If the world were waiting to see automobiling of a certain sort expire of its own reckless folly, the ghastly result of the Paris-Madrid race would seem to supply the last-needed touch of horror. The dead, dying, and maimed are reckoned up as after a battle or tornado. From such disaster the State of New York has sought to protect its citizens by statutes governing the use of automobiles. The law was considerably amended at the last session of the Legislature, and now establishes three speed rates for varying conditions, as follows: in closely built sections of cities, not more than eight miles per hour; in

streets where houses are one hundred feet apart, not more than fifteen miles per hour; in country highways, not more than twenty miles per hour. There are other more detailed restrictions. Within half a mile of a post-office, or when passing a person driving a horse or other domestic animal, or when passing a pedestrian, or when crossing a main highway, speed must be reduced to eight miles an hour. Not more than ten miles an hour is permitted when passing a schoolhouse between 8 A. M. and 4 P. M. For a second offence in violation of any of these provisions, an automobilist may be imprisoned for a term not exceeding thirty days and he may also be heavily fined. For a first offence a fine only is imposed. Some of these provisions have been objected to as practically impossible of observance, but as long as any owners of automobiles give evidence of such recklessness as led to the slaughter on the French highway, they must expect the most persistent efforts to hold them in check by legislation.

The idea that Oxford University may become bankrupt through the kindness of the late Cecil Rhodes will startle many people; and yet such a possibility is suggested in a recent letter to the *London Times* by H. H. Turner, Savilian professor of astronomy. Pointing to the recurring annual deficits in running expenses, he declares that either the University must increase its charges to undergraduates, or else some benefactor must come to the rescue. "Otherwise," he writes, "the advent of the Rhodes scholars will probably make Oxford bankrupt, for, of course, in an endowed university, every new student is a new expense." Although Professor Turner is doubtless guilty of some rhetorical exaggeration, the fact remains that more than one American college is struggling with a similar problem. The college spends on each student from one to two hundred dollars more than he returns in tuition fees; consequently, a large growth in numbers, without a corresponding growth in endowment, means a deficit. The establishment of scholarships, a popular form of philanthropy, adds nothing to the general resources of the college; for every student thus attracted is an additional drain upon the common fund. A new building is an impressive monument to a liberal patron, but—unless it be a dormitory—it may involve the college in considerable expense for maintenance. If, say, \$2,000 is necessary for insurance, repairs, heat, light, and janitor's attendance for a recitation hall costing \$100,000, the building must be endowed with \$50,000 to keep it from mortgaging the income of an equal amount of the common fund. Unrestricted gifts are the greatest present need of most of our colleges.

PARTY "DISLOYALTY."

A dinner was given on Thursday evening in honor of a State Senator who has dared at Albany to bring his legislative problems to the bar of his own individual judgment and conscience; and when he declared that with his two colleagues he intended to continue this course until the end of his legislative career, he was cheered to the echo, for it seemed an amazing display of courage. A telegram from the Governor expressing, not altogether unguardedly, his friendly sentiments toward this same Senator, called for black headlines in the morning papers, and gave rise to ominous predictions of party discord and disunion. Yet the three Senators have not declared war on any principle to which their party is devoted. They are not wicked free-traders, or treasonable critics of Duty and Destiny in foreign parts. They have merely announced as their rule of public conduct two very definite propositions: first, that the will of the party is the will of a majority of the members of it, not the dictum of one man, although he be known as the boss; second, that there are many legislative measures which have no bearing upon party principles or even upon party policy, and that such bills should be dealt with on their merits, even though the private concerns of some party leader may be involved.

This does not sound like a startling or revolutionary programme. The fact that there has been so much stir about it, simply reveals the state into which we have fallen under the influence of the boss system. Senator Brown said at the dinner given to him that, as a result of this system, the legislative limb of the government had become practically paralyzed. He was quite right. Most of the members of the Legislature were mere dummies, attached to strings which were pulled from a distance. The dummies were necessary as recording machines, but they possessed no other function. The whole atmosphere at Albany was confusing, stultifying. The strings were pulled, not only by the boss, but also by a half-dozen intimates of the boss, who traded on his name and power. If they were employed by a railroad company to push a "deal" through the Legislature, they rushed to Albany and declared that the bill was "a party measure." Nobody was consulted about it, its merits were not considered, there was no conference of leaders on it, no caucus even. How it came to be a party measure, nobody condescended to explain or could explain. But the dummies obediently bobbed their heads to make the record. No bill was too local or too insignificant to become a "party measure" if properly introduced, and to vote against it was to be guilty of party disloyalty, and to read one's self out of the party organization.

The paralyzing effect of the system

was not confined, of course, to the Legislature. The supremacy of the boss in the party organization depended on keeping really strong men out of it, and they were accordingly eliminated as rapidly as they developed independence or power. Voting strength on election day became a minor consideration as compared with controlling strength in the primaries. The Republican organization in New York County, for instance, by a process of elimination, has developed great efficiency in the nominating conventions, but the fact that this has been attended by a corresponding weakness at the polls has been regarded with indifference.

It was under such circumstances as these that the determined action of the three Senators became an astonishing "revolt" to the bosses, but an object of inspiration and hope to sincere party men who objected to the use of their party's name as a cloak for selfishness and bad schemes of government and administration. It represented the first entering of the wedge, and a great creaking and splitting followed. Some timid souls feared that it was making chaos of legislation, but the statutes of 1903 must have reassured them. Few legislatures in recent years have threatened so much and done so little which was vicious. And above all, a spirit of decent independence has been awakened, which is spreading from day to day. A new idea of party loyalty has been proposed and seems likely to become established. Under it, devotion to party principles constitutes the test, not services rendered in aid of the selfish schemes of the boss. Under it, also, matters and measures having no partisan bearing are left to the individual judgment and conscience.

The movement as it stands is distinctly hopeful. It is not confined to New York city, or even to New York State. There are indications elsewhere of a growing realization of the absurdity of purely partisan action on matters having no relation to party principles. Partisanship in the conduct of municipal affairs has already been abandoned by a majority of thinking people. Partisanship in matters pertaining to State government is now the subject of keen criticism. In its annual report, the Legislative Voters' League of Chicago declares that the control of the Legislature by the forces of evil in Illinois would be impossible but for the fact that the Legislature is organized on party lines. What, asks the League, have parties to do with the chief subjects which State Legislatures must act upon, such as crimes, civil and criminal procedure, regulation of corporations, regulation of railroads, city charters, charities, taxation, and the like? Shall legislatures be for ever limited in this way because twice in each six years there are United States Senators to elect? The discussion is suggestive and significant. We shall see

what we shall see; but, in the meantime, we may rejoice over the destruction, which is going on before our eyes in our own State, of a false and vicious notion of obligation to party.

EMERSON THE CITIZEN.

In the course of the Emerson centenary celebrations, now full upon us, we shall hear much of the "voice oracular" which sounded in the ears of Matthew Arnold in Oxford, as well as of Moncure Conway in Virginia, and which, we would fain hope, still comes with trumpet call to eager youth. We shall be told of the skilled rhetorician, with that sure eye for the right word of which Dr. Holmes gave his amusing account, and with readiness to exalt at one time "Fate," at another "Power," in the certainty that the reader would receive, from the very antithesis and exaggeration, the due impression intended. Emerson the Philosopher will be discoursed on, and just why he narrowly failed of being a poet among the greatest will be explained. We may be pardoned if we dwell for a moment on the humbler theme of Emerson the Citizen.

His theory and practice of "the republican at home" seem to us to be peculiarly opportune. They have a pertinence to present problems. We are passing through a period when the right and duty of free, full, independent criticism of governmental and national policy and action are challenged. On the one hand, we have seen the opposition of many right-thinking men muffled because they feel that it will be of no use. On the other, we have protest hissed at as disloyalty. But all this was abhorrent to Emerson's soul. "If the motto on all palace gates is 'Hush,' the honorable ensign to our town halls should be, 'Proclaim.'" "Just now the supreme public duty of all thinking men is to assert freedom. Go where it is threatened and say, 'I am for it, and do not wish to live in the world a moment longer than it exists.'" And Emerson's civic conduct was of a piece with his teachings. He sent a strong letter of protest to President Van Buren, at the time of the unlawful and violent expulsion of the Cherokees from their own land—a letter which it is probable, as Emerson's biographer says, that the "sleek patriot" in the White House never read. No matter; the good citizen had done his duty and freed his mind. He had lived up to his own precept, as he did again at the time of the Fugitive Slave Act: "Let us not lie nor steal, nor help to steal, and let us not call stealing by any fine names, such as Union or patriotism." New England is to-day building the tomb of that prophet of the civic conscience. His successors it is stoning, as a former generation stoned Emerson.

By breeding and intellect an aristocrat, Emerson's political convictions

carried him into the party of reform and progress. Though, like Mark Pattison, he confessed his preference for living with the Whigs, he also acknowledged his desire, on principle, always to vote with the Democrats. One solemn Whig who heard Emerson lecture, in 1839, said that he could account for his enthusiasm in defence of the rights of man only on the supposition that he was angling for a place in the Custom House! It was, of course, in the irrepressible conflict with slavery that Emerson's democracy had its sharpest and most triumphant test. Beginning with a kind of philosophic and detached weighing of the terrible problem—such as Orville Dewey kept up until the very outbreak of the civil war, in sheer agony of inability to choose his side—he pressed on with such increasing definiteness and ardor of conviction that he finally espoused the cause of John Brown, saying (we quote from Col. Higginson):

"All gentlemen are on his side. I do not mean by gentlemen people of scented hair and perfumed handkerchiefs, but men of gentle blood and generosity, 'fulfilled with all nobleness,' who, like the Cid, give the outcast leper a share of their bed; like the dying Sidney, pass the cup of cold water to the soldier that needs it more."

Emerson's attitude on the question of the negro's capacity is surely worth a paragraph to-day. At first, his feet were taken in the snare which is again catching good men. "The degradation of that black race . . . is inevitable to the men they are." "The negro is created on a lower plane than the white." But that practical atheism was soon outgrown. By 1844 Emerson maintained the negro's capability, and in 1845 he described as follows the current doctrine of race inferiority:

"It is that the Creator of the negro has given him up to stand as a victim, a caricature, of the white man beside him; to stoop under his pack, to bleed under his whip. If that be the doctrine, then I say, if He has given up his cause, He has also given up mine who feel his wrong. But it is not so; the universe is not bankrupt; still stands the old heart firm in its seat, and knows that, come what will, the right is and shall be; justice is forever and ever."

It was, then, Emerson the patriotic Citizen who would not sit silent when base deeds were being done in the name of country. He stood for free speech and free men. No partisan, he yet was ready to sacrifice himself when the cause was good. It was a part of his religion to see that the land was well governed. Far from approving or practising the fastidious indifference of too many highly educated men of his time and ours, Emerson believed that a care for politics is as great an interest as a rational being can have. His fine example of civic duty is no small part of his contribution to the strength and greatness of this nation.

CHAMBERLAIN'S REACTIONARY PROTECTIONISM.

The later utterances of Mr. Chamberlain place him squarely on the protectionist platform. In a speech on Thursday he told the working classes that preferential tariffs would mean three or four times their present wages; and in the House of Commons on Friday night he said that the proposed tariff would furnish means for old-age pensions. Mr. Chaplin and the agricultural societies expect that the tariffs will raise the price of cereals, and that, too, is a part of Mr. Chamberlain's expectation. So Mr. John Bull is to pay higher wages for labor and higher prices for food, and his net profits are to be so increased by the operation that he can pension all needy people who are above sixty years of age. But, it may be asked, is not Mr. Chamberlain's policy sanctioned by experience on this side of the water? Why cannot John Bull do what Brother Jonathan has been doing with such conspicuous success these many years? The first reason is that J. B. is not exploiting a new country whose resources are so great that waste and bad economy may, for a long time, go hand in hand with great prosperity. Another difference between the two countries which is not sufficiently observed is, that we have a larger and more compact free-trade area than Great Britain has or can have. The exchange of products between any two sections of the United States (not counting colonies) can be effected within a few days at slight cost of transportation and without customs duties. Such economical advantages were never before seen in the world. They overbalance the waste of protectionism which would severely pinch any country that has to import the larger part of its raw materials and food supplies, as England does and must increasingly continue to do.

In the mutations of English politics that would accompany any deviations from the principles of free trade, Lord Rosebery has been reckoned as one of the Liberal chiefs (perhaps the only one) who might possibly side with Mr. Chamberlain. He took occasion on Monday, however, to define his position and to place himself in accord with the views expressed by the Prime Minister, rather than with those of the Colonial Secretary. In a speech at Burnley, he said that, while he did not consider free trade as a part of the "Sermon on the Mount," he would not favor a change without long and deep consideration. "We must consider," he said, "whether it would be judicious to quarrel with customers who give us two-thirds, or possibly three-quarters, of our trade in order to oblige customers who give us a quarter or a third of it." He thought that, before the tariffs were changed, the colonies ought to be represented in the government of the country. This idea

is contrary to Mr. Chamberlain's scheme as presented at the Colonial Conference in London last year. In that programme, the plan of preferential trade came first, and was presented as a means of cementing the Empire in a political sense. The Colonial Premiers agreed to recommend to their legislatures certain changes in their tariffs favorable to the mother country in the event that the latter should adopt tariffs discriminating in their favor.

The one thing wanting in Mr. Chamberlain's plans is a detailed scheme for carrying them into effect. Imperial Federation is a sounding phrase. It can be made attractive to a mixed audience by a speaker of Mr. Chamberlain's versatility, who deals with it only in general terms. An effective picture can always be drawn of Britannia and her children assembled together at a Christmas dinner; and if anybody, at such a time, should ask who pays for the dinner, he would be considered a sordid wretch or an unfeeling monster. But the Christmas dinner which Imperial Federation stands for is a continuous feast (or famine), and the question who pays for it is the principal, if not the sole, point to be determined by the participants. Sir Robert Giffen directed attention to this phase of Imperial Federation while the Conference was sitting last year. He noted the fact that no details of preferential trade had been laid before the conferring Premiers; and since the success of the project depended upon a satisfactory adjustment of separate items, he presented a partial list with a clear view of the difficulties to be faced. Sir Robert is by no means a Little Englander. He is a hard-headed Scotchman, who believes that no scheme of preferential trade will work unless it can be reconciled with the facts of daily life, and that Little England with pounds, shillings, and pence to the good is better than Imperial Federation with those factors on the wrong side of the ledger. We have never seen any attempt at a reply to Sir Robert's argument.

After the Conference had adjourned, Professor Bastable, the eminent writer on finance, took up the discussion on somewhat broader lines. He showed, in the first place, that a Zollverein for Great Britain and the colonies was impossible for geographical reasons. The only unions of this kind that had ever been carried into successful practice had been those of adjacent territory, around which the barrier of a common tariff could be drawn. Replying to the suggestion that, although an Imperial Zollverein could not be adopted in the form given to it by the independent states of Germany, it might still be adopted in substance, he showed that the differences of products are as great as those of geographical situation. Diversities so marked as those of India, South Africa, Australia, Canada, and the United King-

dom never could be made amenable to a common tariff. Therefore, the idea of a Zollverein, either in form or in substance, must be abandoned. Nor can anything in the way of preferential trade be found to take its place unless England squarely turns her back on her past and present conceptions of trade, and adopts a new one, the central idea of which is that the exchange of goods with British subjects is better than exchange with foreigners. Replying to Mr. Chamberlain's argument that the British Empire is so wide and its products so various that it might be self-sustaining, Professor Bastable pointed out that the main question was not that of self-sufficiency, but of cost. It is aside from the question to say, for example, that British colonies can produce all the cotton that England needs, unless it is shown that they can and will supply it as cheaply as the United States does.

If Great Britain is to adopt preferential duties in favor of her colonies, there is no reason why she should not adopt the same policy towards favored nations which are not united to her by political ties. Whenever she begins to discriminate among nations, she will have to discriminate also among producers at home. The agricultural interests represented by Mr. Chaplin will be as much opposed to free imports from Canada as from the United States, and, as Lord Rosebery pointed out in his speech at Burnley, there could be no such thing as a finality in tariffs, because the colonies would be constantly insisting on changes. In short, Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is so beset with difficulties in the United Kingdom itself that foreigners need give themselves little concern about its realization in practice.

THE GERMAN MERCHANT MARINE.

In a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*, there appeared an article upon the growth of the German merchant marine. It is well worth the attention of all who are concerned with the development of our own mercantile fleet, since in the means taken to increase the number of ships flying the German flag there are several lessons which our American shipowners could study with profit.

Primarily, Germany has not hampered her commercial navy by any restrictive laws forbidding the purchase of vessels abroad, as is the case in the United States. Writing upon this point in *Nauticus*, several years ago, a German authority cited this country as being the last nation to stick to that antiquated policy, and rightly attributed to it, in a large degree, the failure of the American shipowners to regain their old position after the losses of the civil-war period. In Germany to-day, as with us, all materials intended for shipbuilding purposes are admitted duty free. There is not

even the restriction prescribed by our own laws, namely, that the exemption from duties shall not apply when the vessels constructed of imported materials shall engage in the coast trade for a period of more than two months in any one year.

Except for some liberal postal subsidies, the German shipowners "in the main stand upon their own feet, and the support given us by the Government is repaid by us through the efforts we make to promote trade and traffic," to use the words of the head of the North German Lloyd, at the launching of the *Kaiser Wilhelm II.*, which has just arrived in this city for the second time. The subventions paid by the Empire to the North German Lloyd, the Hamburg-American Line, and the German East Africa Line, aggregate 7,500,000 marks, or, roughly, \$1,800,000 annually. In return the several companies pledge themselves to maintain certain lines, to prepare their steamers for use in war time as auxiliary cruisers, and to carry the mails. There are plenty of Germans who do not believe in this policy of establishing steamer communication with out-of-the-way places in advance of a commercial need, though they favor the very appreciable preferential rates given by the German Government railways to all articles used in shipbuilding. It must be said, however, that from the very beginning the attitude of the German shipowners has been far more self-respecting and independent than that of our Griscoms and Cramps. Certainly such open lobbying and such unblushing demands for enormous bounties on both tonnage and speed as we have witnessed in this country, have not been known in Germany.

The real secret of the success of the great German steamship companies is to be found in the words of the first chairman of the North German Lloyd Company. He declared in June, 1858: "We cannot count on assistance from the State; we must rely upon our own energy, work and judgment, coupled with suitable economy." This self-reliance is as marked a characteristic of German shipowners as is the thoroughness with which they, and the Government behind them, go about everything. While the companies have built better and better ships, and have extended their lines with remarkable enterprise, the Empire and the subordinate governments have improved harbors and docks, deepened the mouths of rivers, built canals, improved the lighthouse service, passed properly drawn laws in regard to the treatment of sailors, their food, the qualifying of officers, and the inspection of vessels. Under the personal direction of the Emperor, whose love for the water and whose interest in yachts and yacht racing have done so much to arouse popular interest in the merchant and military fleets, the Government has met ship-

owners and shipbuilders halfway in every case where it was possible. As a result, the pride of the nation in its marine power is great and deeply rooted. This is in itself a tribute to the foresight of the Government.

There is good reason for Germany's pride in her merchant marine. In 1870 Hamburg possessed only 37 steamers, with a tonnage of 191,000, while Bremen had but 27 of 171,500 tons. In 1898 these same harbors respectively sent out 377 and 259 steamers of 715,450, and 487,230 tons. In 1873 there were but 217 steamers flying the German flag; in 1899 there were 1,223, of more than a million tons. Whereas, in 1873, steamers of any size had to be purchased abroad, the German yards turn out to-day the fastest ships of the largest size—at least one of which, the *Deutschland*, is constructed entirely of German steel. In 1899, 69.6 per cent. of the imports and 66.3 per cent. of the exports of Germany were carried in German bottoms. From 1894 to 1899 the total shipping business increased more than 44 per cent. The recent bad times have, of course, had a depressing effect upon it, as they have upon other industries. But the prospects of the present year are again encouraging.

Among the largest companies, in addition to the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd Lines, may be mentioned the German fleet of the Standard Oil Company, the German-Australian Company, the Woermann, the Hamburg-South American, the Kosmos, the Hansa, the Neptune, the Rickmers, the Argo, the Triton and Visurgis lines, whose ships visit every quarter of the globe. In the Mediterranean, as in the Orient, the competition of the German vessels is making itself keenly felt in English shipping circles, in which the purchase by Germans of three Chinese lines owned by Englishmen caused a feeling closely akin to consternation. Taken altogether, this brief summary of thirty years' surprising progress shows clearly that no nation can hope to maintain or to acquire the supremacy of the ocean without reckoning with the Germans of the North Sea.

THE FÊTES AT DELPHI.

ATHENS, May 3, 1903.

The termination of the ten-years' excavations upon the site of Delphi, by the French Archaeological School at Athens, and the ceremony of the official handing over of the site to the Greek Government and of the inauguration of the new Museum there, were the occasion of a brilliant fête at the famous sanctuary yesterday. The occasion was indeed one which merited a fitting celebration. The renown in antiquity of the great Delphic sanctuary of Apollo, the interest with which, for the last ten years, the whole civilized world has been following the labors of the French excavators, the brilliant discoveries which have crown-

ed their efforts, the large sums of money expended in this truly disinterested work by the French Government, the assembly of scholars and notable personages from many lands to witness the final celebration—all served to render the occasion an impressive one, while the stupendous scenery of Delphi and perfect weather lent enchantment to the dramatic scene for which Delphi is well fitted. Strabo's comparison of it to a theatre has often been quoted, yet his phrase, though accurate, gives no conception of the real setting, the tremendous twin-cliffs which tower over the sacred precinct, the majestic snow-topped mass of Parnassus rising behind them more than 8,000 feet into the cloudless air, the deep glen of the Pleistos beneath, through which the torrent rushes, the precipitous rocky slopes of Mt. Kirphis opposite, the broad Crisæan plain spread out far below with its olive groves and bounded on the south by the blue waters of the Gulf of Corinth and the long mountain ranges of the Peloponnesus with their snowy peaks. It is a picture which no one would attempt to describe, but without a reference to which no account of Delphi, however slight, would be possible, for it was this extraordinary combination of natural features, striking awe and wonder to the beholder's mind, which caused it of old to be regarded as in very truth the seat of a Deity.

A brief review of its history may not be amiss here. Tradition connects the name of Delphi (from *δελφίς*, a dolphin, according to one etymology) with the legend of Apollo transformed into a dolphin, accompanying and guiding the ship which brought Cretan settlers to this shore; and the abundant traces of Mycæan remains found in the course of the excavations seem to confirm this early connection with Crete. Homer calls it Pytho, and this name connects it with a still earlier time, when the first deities of the place were dispossessed by Apollo, who slew the guardian dragon Python. But, from the ninth century B. C., the fame of the Oracle of Delphic Apollo was fully established, and continued until its abolition by Theodosius, circa 385 A. D., though its influence had greatly declined some centuries before. Its rich treasures always exposed Delphi to the attacks of enemies. Thus, Xerxes attempted to invade it in 480 B. C., but was repulsed, as Herodotus tells us, by the god himself, who manifested himself in thunder, while at the same time enormous boulders from the cliff came crashing down upon the pass, routing the Persians utterly. The same thing happened again two centuries later, when, in 279 B. C., Brennus and his Gauls attempted to enter Delphi by the same road. In the early sixth century B. C., the great Temple of Apollo was destroyed by an earthquake, and was rebuilt by the Alcæonidæ of Athens. It was destroyed again in the fourth century B. C., and rebuilt by a general subscription from all the states of Greece. This was the temple seen by Pausanias, the foundations of which are still standing. It was plundered several times, by the Phocians in 356 B. C., by Sulla in 86 B. C., and again by Nero, in a fit of rage at the Oracle's disapproval of his matricide. Constantine the Great carried off several of its treasures to Byzantium, and the bronze pedestal of the Platæan trophy may be seen in Constantinople to-day.

Thus the work of the French excavators was one of faith, not knowing to what extent their great outlay of money, time, and labor would be repaid by the results, or how much of the famous sanctuary would still be found to exist. The excavations have, however, amply rewarded them. The wealth of inscriptions, monuments, and sculptures brought to light has proved beyond their highest expectations. To describe in detail even the more important finds would exceed the limits and scope of this article; suffice it to say that they comprise offerings to the Oracle from every part of the ancient world, from Phrygia and the Scythian steppes to the Gates of Hercules and the shores of Africa, and from private individuals as well as states all over Greece; magnificent buildings, statues, columns, and altars, erected by great princes and states, side by side with the thousands of rude votive images and inscriptions dedicated by the poorest and the humblest; an exhaustive epitome of the life of antiquity, with its ambitions, its quarrels, its hopes and fears, through more than fifteen centuries. From the earliest mythical times down to the days of Julian the Apostate, humanity sought enlightenment, consolation, and help from the lips of the Pythian prophetess of Apollo; and throughout this long period her commands were obeyed and her priests wielded a political power similar to that exercised by the Church of Rome over Catholic Europe in the Middle Ages.

The results of the excavations are briefly as follows: The sacred precinct has been laid bare, a large irregular quadrangle lying upon the steep hillside, with gates at intervals in its walls, the main entrance being at the southeast corner, opposite the Castalian Spring. From this gate a Sacred Way, paved and lined on either side by votive buildings, statues, etc., leads up in winding curves to the great Temple of Apollo, of which only the substructions now remain, revealing the adyton, or subterranean chamber where the oracles were delivered. Before the temple stood the great Altar of the Chians, dedicated in the fifth century B. C., but the excavations around it proved that it had been a place of sacrifice from a remote age, the soil being composed of regular layers of Mycæan, geometric, proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and later pottery, in fragments, mixed with the ashes of animals and votive offerings in bronze. Above the Temple stood the Theatre, one of the best preserved in Greece; the Lesche, a building mentioned by Pausanias as containing two celebrated series of paintings by Polygnotus; and at the very top of the precinct the Stadium, commanding a fine view, and in fairly good preservation. The most important of these buildings, from the artistic point of view, are the Treasuries, in the form of little temples *in antis*, erected by various cities for depositing their offerings, and richly painted and decorated with sculptures. All are now in ruins, but so many of their fragments have been recovered that it has been decided to rebuild one of them, the Treasury of the Athenians, a trophy of the Battle of Marathon, which occupies a prominent position upon the Sacred Way, and will be, when finished, as beautiful a feature of the Delphic sanctuary as the exquisite little temple of Wingless Victory at Athens, restored in a sim-

ilar way, is of the Acropolis. Just beyond this Treasury stand the Rock of the Sibyl and the Stoa of the Athenians, whose wall is covered with hundreds of inscriptions recording the emancipation of slaves, under the form of a sale to the Pythian god.

In the Museum the bas-reliefs and other sculptures belonging to the Treasuries of the Cnidian, the Sikyonian, and the Athenians are among the chief ornaments, others being the tall votive column of the Naxians, surmounted by a sphinx; the richly carved Omphalos, or stone which was supposed to mark the centre of the earth;* the famous hymn to Apollo inscribed upon a marble slab with musical notation; the charming Acanthus Column, surmounted by a group of three life-size dancing figures, a work of the fifth century B. C.; the votive statues of various kings and heroes; and, finally, the gem of the collection, which of itself would justify the entire excavation, the bronze statue of a charioteer of the greatest artistic beauty, dedicated by Polyzeus, brother of the tyrant of Syracuse, and probably set up between the years 478-472 B. C. No idea can be given, in this cursory and incomplete notice, of the treasures either in the Museum itself, or *in situ* in the precinct; but the large work upon Delphi soon to be published by M. Homolle and his collaborators will fully supplement our still imperfect knowledge of the finds.

In view of the part taken by the French Government in the excavations at Delphi, the presence of the French Minister of Education and Fine Arts was indispensable at the ceremony of making over the site with its finds to the Greek Government. Accordingly, the Minister, accompanied by several other officials, arrived in Athens some days ago, as the guest of the French School. On April 30 a garden party in his honor was given in the grounds of the school, at which his Majesty and several other members of the royal family of Greece were present. The famous Hymn to Apollo discovered at Delphi some years ago was given by the orchestra and three ladies concealed by a screen of foliage, while in the foreground meanwhile a tableau was enacted, reproducing from an ancient vase-painting Apollo Musagetes striking his lyre and surrounded by his choir of nymphs. An ode to Greece was also recited, and an ode in honor of M. Homolle, the distinguished director of the French School, to whom the excavations at Delphi are chiefly due.

The French Minister's stay in Athens was marked by a series of dinner parties and dances given in his honor by the members of the Greek Government, ending with a state dinner at the palace, after which the same evening the French party left for Delphi by the French man-of-war *Condor*, accompanied by a Greek gunboat. The yacht *Assos* had in the meanwhile set out with a large number of invited guests on board. They arrived at Itea the next morning, May 2, reaching Delphi at 10:30 A.M., when the ceremony of inaugurating the Museum began in the Hall of the Cnidian, where a beautiful facsimile of that Treasury has been erected. Speeches were made, first by M. Mavromichalis, Minister of Education and Fine Arts, representing his Majesty and the Greek Government, in whose names he thanked the representative of France for the great service it had rendered the cause of

*This, of course, is not the real Omphalos, which stood in the temple, but merely a votive offering in the precinct.

archæology and the Greek nation in supporting this important undertaking, and extolled the enlightened liberality of the French Government in everything that concerned science and art. He was followed by M. Homolle, who gave a rapid résumé of the excavations of the last ten years at Delphi, as well as of former labors upon this site. He stated the expense to have been 500,000 francs, and referred with gratitude to M. Bourgeois, the French Minister under whom the work was begun. He then thanked with his customary grace the representatives of his Majesty and of the Crown Prince as President of the Archæological Society of Greece, the Greek Government, and the archæological authorities, for the moral support they had extended to the undertaking, and the interest they showed in being present at the final ceremony. He expressed his thanks also to the French Minister of Education, the French Ambassadors at Athens and Constantinople, the directors of the various foreign Schools of Archæology, and the representatives of other learned bodies, speaking of their presence as a world-wide recognition of the importance of the Delphic excavations. He made special mention by name of two of the workmen, to whose devotion and skill the excavations owed much, and paid a tribute to the generous giver of the Museum, the late M. Syngros. He next referred to the decision of the City Council of Athens to defray the cost of reërecting the beautiful Treasury of the Athenians on its original site, regarding it as a kind of ancestral obligation and privilege. He then formally gave over the site, saying:

"I hand over to the Greek Government the legacy entrusted to me for the past ten years. The work began in April, 1893, and ended in April, 1903. I trust the time has proved fruitful. This hour is a memorable one to me. I resemble a father about to give his daughter in marriage, and experience similar feelings with regard to a site where we have worked for ten years and have experienced the deepest and purest emotions of discovery and scientific research, and you will therefore not misunderstand me when I recommend Delphi to your protection. She will always be for us a witness to the ancient glory of this land, a monument to the scientific devotion of the French School of Athens and of its gratitude to this hospitable country, an indissoluble bond uniting France and Hellas."

M. Cavvadias, General Ephor of Antiquities, then replied in the name of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince and of the Greek Archæological Society, whose congratulations and thanks to the French Government and to the French School of Athens he transmitted. He paid a warm tribute to the distinguished director of the school, to whose eminent achievements as a savant and executive ability, devotion, and enthusiasm the long and arduous work at Delphi with its brilliant results was due. He spoke of France, her recognition of Hellenic ideals, her generous readiness to respond in the cause of art and letters. He spoke of the Greek Archæological Society, founded in 1837, its recognition of its high mission and of the part taken therein by the sister schools of archæology at Athens, as attested by the long list of their labors and triumphs, which had reflected credit and glory upon their respective countries and opened a distinguished career to many of their young countrymen.

The French Minister of Education next

spoke briefly, referring to the ethical teachings of the occasion, inspired by the traditions of the place. He was followed by M. Carapanos, Minister of Marine, in his capacity as Member of the French Institute and as a lover of antiquity—titles to which he has earned the right by his own important excavations upon the site of Dodona, the valuable results of which excavations he presented last year to the nation, and which now fill an entire hall in the National Museum at Athens. Speeches were then made by the representative of the French Academy of Fine Arts, by the Director of Higher Education in France, by the directors of the various foreign schools of archæology at Athens—Prof. R. B. Richardson in behalf of the American School and of the British School, Dr. Schrader in the name of the German Institute in the absence of Professor Dörpfeld, Dr. Adolf Wilhelm as director of the Imperial Austrian Institute at Athens.

The new Museum, with its various treasures, was then inspected by the visitors, after which the party assembled in the theatre, where a collation was served and toasts were drunk, while groups of picturesque peasant girls and youths danced to the music of the pipes. The scene was one of the greatest enthusiasm. After lunching, the party repaired to the Stadium, where foot races were run and prizes distributed, after which they returned to the Museum, where M. Mavromichalis, standing upon the steps, thanked the inhabitants of Delphi for the order, hospitable zeal, and enthusiasm which they had shown, the peasants replying with hearty cheers. The whole party then drove down to Itea, and embarked for Athens and Constantinople.

Thus ended one of the most memorable days in the annals of the French School of Athens, a day which, as Professor Richardson said in his speech, was one of mutual gain and rejoicing to the sister schools at Athens, as well as to the world. France has set an example, in this great work and throughout the past, which may well be emulated by other countries, and has been emulated notably by Germany at Olympia and in many minor instances. The treasures of Greece are far from being exhausted. Every day new proof is given of the riches lying beneath her soil and only awaiting the spade of the excavator. American ability has already won recognition in this field, the only hindrance to its labors being the want of funds by which it is constantly hampered. Its School alone of the foreign schools at Athens has not the support, direct or indirect, of its home Government; and in spite of many generous gifts from private individuals, it still awaits its Mæcenæ who will enable it to undertake a work upon the scale of Olympia and Delphi. When one reflects that the American School had virtually the refusal of Delphi for nearly a year, during which it was found impossible to raise the necessary funds, one feels that it ought to be spared such a loss in future. As regards the French school, it is not resting upon its laurels. M. Homolle recently announced that a gift of 30,000 francs from the Duc de Luynes, with the promise of more later, would enable the School to go on with the important excavations at Delos, interrupted for many years for lack of funds, but now assured of completion. He is to be congratulated upon this realization of one of his

most cherished schemes—a fitting tribute, as all will acknowledge, to the perseverance, energy, and ability of which he has given such proof in the accomplishment of the work at Delphi.

DEMETRIUS KALOPOTHAKES

NAPOLÉON'S BROTHERS.—II.

PARIS, May 6, 1903.

The Kingdom of Westphalia was an artificial creation of the Emperor Napoleon. It was, so to speak, a gift to his younger brother, Jerome. A life of Jerome has just been written by M. Joseph Turquan, who continues his already long series on the members of the Bonaparte family and the great ladies of the time of the Empire. I would not for a moment compare his work with that of M. Frédéric Masson; and it was by accident that I read his volume on King Jerome (which is a pamphlet and a running satire) while reading the historical studies of M. Masson.

Jerome's quarrels with his brother Napoleon are well known; the history of his marriage in America, of Napoleon's opposition, of the marriage with a Bavarian Princess, and of the reconciliation with the Emperor is familiar to everybody. M. Masson takes Jerome in the year 1809, when he had entered fully into Napoleon's views. Jerome, as long as the war with England lasted, was to furnish the support of 12,000 French soldiers. He had besides to keep an army of 12,000 men of his own. He was allowed to institute an order of his own, so as to have all the apparent prerogatives of sovereignty. In January, 1810, Jerome and his wife Catherine returned to their States. He asked his brother to add Hanover to his kingdom, but Hanover seemed to Napoleon too big a piece; he half promised it, but regretted his promise, and contented himself with giving his brother a little more territory with 796,000 more inhabitants. The weak point of the artificial kingdom of Westphalia was the financial question. Jerome accepted all the heavy charges with which Napoleon encumbered the new kingdom; he was personally very extravagant, and maintained his court with as much pomp as if he were the sovereign of the richest country in the world. In reality, the kingdom was poor and had suffered much from the war. The new kingdom was divided into eight departments, bearing names now well forgotten. The King made a solemn entry into Cassel, a very sleepy and quiet little town, which had been promoted to the dignity of a capital. He chose ministers: among them was Beugnot, who was charged with the finances (Beugnot's memoirs are a very valuable document for the times of the Revolution and the Empire); M. Siméon had the Department of Justice and of the Interior; Gen. Lagrange the War Office. He gave to his Secretary Lecamus the title of Count of Fürstentein, with the estate of that name, which was worth 40,000 francs a year. Napoleon wrote to him on this subject:

"I see that you intend to give the estate of Fürstentein and a revenue of 40,000 francs to Sieur Lecamus. I know nothing more insane than this conduct, alike contrary to your interests and detrimental to the State and to yourself. This man has rendered no service to the State, only to yourself. . . . Since I began to reign, I have never con-

ceived so arbitrary an act. There are more than ten men who have saved my life, and to them I give pensions of only six hundred francs. I have marshals who have gained ten battles, who are covered with wounds, and who have not the reward which you give to this Lecamus. . . . What shall I give to Marshals Berthier, Lannes, Bernadotte and to more than twenty persons who have bought with all sorts of wounds the throne on which you sit? I have ministers who might have gained ten millions and who have not a sou. What finances will you have with your sort of conduct? You spend three millions in Paris in two months; you will spend thirty in less time without rhyme or reason."

This language did not make the slightest impression on Jerome; he was as extravagant as his brother was strict and correct in money matters. Ever since the time of the Directory, Napoleon had had a genuine horror of speculators and army contractors; his love of order and regularity in the finances is one of the remarkable traits of his character. Jerome's ministers were in a difficult position; they knew well what Napoleon expected from his brother, with whom they accordingly remonstrated, but they were his subordinates. It was the same with the honest but timid Reinhard, who was the representative of France at Jerome's court. The memoirs of Madame Reinhard, lately published, give us some light on the life led at Cassel. Reinhard's official dispatches to Napoleon, though couched in a guarded, diplomatic style, are very well worth perusing.

Favoritism, financial extravagance, excessive prodigality characterize King Jerome's short rule in Westphalia. They ought not, however, to hinder us from recognizing the progress which was made in this new State.

"Thanks," says M. Masson, "to M. Siméon and to the good assistants he brought with him, the principles of the Revolution were so largely applied in the kingdom that this aggregation of States, the most backward in Europe, the most brutally treated by their masters, those in which the barbarism of the middle ages had remained almost intact, received in the course of two years the institutions of the most civilized country. The Code Napoléon was definitively introduced; estates became freehold; serfdom was abolished; tithes were bought in; feudal rights were suppressed; the code of legal procedure was established; the correctional police was administered through juries; the mortgage system was instituted; the fees of the tribunals were fixed; freedom of worship was recognized; the taxes were administered as they were in France; the prefectural and municipal administrations were copied after the French model, and were rendered more liberal. Into countries where feudal despotism disposed of the lives and property of all, passed the great current of modern ideas, the ideas of equity, equality, responsibility, individual liberty."

M. Masson justly adds that this work, accomplished by French lawyers, will make history more indulgent towards Jerome, even though he cared nothing, perhaps, for the judgment of history, and was completely given over to pleasure and vanity. When he paid visits to his brother there were sometimes terrible scenes, showing the latter's discontent. Once, at Compiègne, the Master of the Horse of Westphalia, Minister of War, Captain of the Guards, named Morio de Lisle, joined Jerome. Morio de Lisle had left Cassel to command the Westphalian troops in Spain; falling ill, he had been transported to Perpignan, and from there to Montpellier, whence he went straight to Compiègne. He

appeared before Napoleon, covered with orders and in perfect health. The Emperor stopped before him: "What are you doing here?" "I accompanied the King." "Who are you?" "The Grand Écuyer." "Grand Écuyer! minister, general! Who gave you those stars? Where did you earn them? You dishonor the epaulette. Leave off those epaulettes. You are a coward." This scene took place at the time of the marriage of Napoleon with Marie Louise.

On his return to Westphalia, Jerome made a visit to the provinces which had been added to his kingdom. Establishing himself at Herrenhausen, which is at a short distance from Hanover, he received the homage of his new subjects, held reviews, visited cities. He wrote to his brother that he had everywhere been received with enthusiasm; he developed great plans for a canal between the Elbe and the Weser, and asked at the same time that the burdens of war should be made lighter in his kingdom. Napoleon took very little notice of this last request, and wrote to him in answer:

"I have just ordered that my troops shall occupy all the country from Holstein to Holland, and this measure comprises the country between Bremen and Wilhelmsburg; I beg you to withdraw your troops from it. The mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, the Jade are just now the subject of my most important meditations; a division of my Dutch ships is going to visit that coast; it is necessary that the country should be in the hands of the French generals."

Jerome evidently wished to have the coasts of the German Sea; he saw them in the hands of Davout, his enemy, the sternest executor of Napoleon's orders. Davout established his headquarters in Hanover, and made himself completely independent of Jerome and his agents. Jerome could do nothing but submit; he wrote to his brother: "If it suits your Majesty to take back not only Hanover, but a part of the other States which you gave me, though it would be very painful, you may be assured that I shall be happy to make this sacrifice to your Majesty." M. Masson enters into minute details on the complicated questions which arose from the changes made by Napoleon in the boundaries of the new kingdom. Everything, in fact, in the immense empire of Napoleon was subjected to the fortune of war. When Napoleon resolved to invade Russia, he put Jerome at the head of three divisions, forming an army of 60,000 men. The King of Westphalia took his place in the "Grande Armée," and was sent to Poland; Napoleon had for a moment the idea of placing on his head the crown of Poland, and of effacing the Kingdom of Westphalia.

When the war began, Jerome disobeyed some instructions. He did not think his dignity allowed him to obey Davout, a simple marshal; and his inaction permitted Bagration's corps to escape total destruction. The Emperor's irritation was intense. "My operations are stopped by the want of news. Your chief of staff does not write. Prince Poniatowski does not write. It is impossible to make war. You are occupied only with trifles. . . . You compromise the entire success of the campaign of my right." Jerome was obliged to leave the army, and returned to Cassel. When Napoleon returned in haste to Paris, after the terrible Russian campaign, Jerome saw him for a moment en route at Mayence.

The Emperor told him that nothing was left of the Westphalian troops which had joined the *Grande Armée*, and ordered him to raise new levies for the next campaign. They met again in Dresden during the preparations for this new campaign, which ended in the retreat of the French armies. After the disastrous battles around Leipzig Jerome felt that all was lost, and got ready to abandon his kingdom. When the allies approached Cassel, he retired with a handful of French troops.

The establishment and the downfall of the Westphalian kingdom form but an episode in the great Napoleonic drama. We will leave Jerome here. He had been not a bad sailor in his youth; he proved himself to be a very indifferent soldier; and it is somewhat remarkable that none of Napoleon's brothers seem to have had the least share of his wonderful military genius. The philosophy, if I may use the word, of M. Masson's new volumes lies in the fact that Napoleon, after having tried for some years to make of his brothers, whom he had crowned, as well as of Prince Eugene and of Murat, confederates and satellites, changed his mind when he married Marie Louise and had hopes of being the head of a new dynasty. He took all the reins into his own hand, and tried to merge all the kingdoms of his own erection into a new and vast empire larger than that of Charles V. It remains for M. Masson to show us how this gigantic project was defeated. "*La Roche Tarpéienne est près du Capitole.*"

Correspondence.

A NEW SCHEME OF COLOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the May number of the *Atlantic Monthly* there is an article, by Mr. Alfred Holt Stone of Greenville, Miss., on "The Mulatto Factor in the Race Problem." The editor introduces Mr. Stone as having made a special study of the subject as it is presented in Yazoo, Miss. My knowledge of it is limited to the Atlantic Coast, but some of the conditions must be identical wherever negroes, in their variations, and the white men who formerly owned them live on the same ground.

Mr. Stone repeats certain general statements which have often been made, and which are admitted by most people who have even a superficial acquaintance with the negro. These are not less true because they are not new; and when admitted truths are used in argument with entire novelty of application, they gain force. Mr. Stone regrets that in the Twelfth Census no distinction was made between the full-blooded negro and the mulatto, as denoting colored people with any admixture of white blood. "Any consideration which fails to reckon the mulatto element as an independent factor ignores what is possibly the most important feature of the problem. . . . I know of no surer means of reaching a working agreement than by the frank acknowledgment of the mulatto factor in the race problem."

After following Mr. Stone along familiar lines in expectation of meeting a new view we reach none, to the end of his article, unless it be a suggestion of different legislation for the full-blooded negro and the

cross-breed. If this be it, on what distinction will the new legislation rest? As the infusion of white blood produces the dangerous element, is exclusion or restriction to begin with that, while the black man pure and simple is to be exempted from disqualifications? Or are there to be three codes, one for whites, one for blacks, one for hybrids? In this case (which would hardly reduce or simplify our race problem) will the color test be absolute, or what degree of admixture will constitute a mulatto? The sixteenth part negro? It is asserted at the South that one-hundredth part is sufficient to perpetuate the type and to reproduce it, complete, after many unsuspecting generations. Then the descendants of a man who is ninety-nine parts white and one negro is to be subject to mulatto limitations *in secula seculorum*. Or shall the negro descendant of one white great-grandparent whose veins have been five times flushed with undiluted African blood, carry the sins of his fathers even beyond the fourth generation? These are points not to be overlooked in considering Mr. Stone's view.

Mr. Stone makes a good remark, if not an original one, when he says (the italics are my own): "The real negro, the negro of the masses, . . . presents few, if any, serious problems, and none which he may not himself work out, if let alone and given time. But it will be an individual rather than a race solution. . . . Those capable of higher things will find for themselves a field; . . . the vicious and shiftless will be as are the vicious and shiftless of other races." In short, blood, like water, finds its own level. Unfortunately, when Southerners speak of "letting the negro alone," it means only that Northerners shall let him alone. Except for his hurt, the Southerner is too ready to let him alone. The many Southerners with whom I have discussed the subject express but two opinions of the race—either that the black man has no good qualities and requires the pressure of slavery to keep his bad ones in check, or that, although there are some moral characteristics for which he is remarkable, they can exist solely in slavery. The more liberal Southerner misses the point—it was not slavery, but contact with a superior race in kindly relations, which brought out these qualities. The negro possesses inherent powers of affection, disinterestedness, patience, fidelity, to a degree of which the Anglo-Saxon is incapable; his singleness of heart is like that of the dog. The relations of master and slave, even when not at its best, developed these with preterhuman intensity; it was like the devotion of Bill Sykes's bulldog. But this was due to intercourse, not ownership; those qualities were and are still to be found where the white man was employer, not master, the black servant a free man. They are here still waiting for the white man to call them forth. If friendliness, confidence, interest on the part of the superior are wholly lacking; if, as far as possible, he shuns intercourse with the black, no wonder that the response of love, trust, and trustiness is wanting. The Southern negro prefers the Southern white of the old slaveholding class to any Northerner, because the old tradition of familiarity is not lost. The Southern white of the "master" class, notwithstanding his denial of merit to the

blacks except as slaves, understands and gets on with them better than we do. Recognition and active exercise of this advantage by the Southern white man for the good of both races would bring us a long step nearer the solution of our problem.

S. B. W.

PHILADELPHIA, May 19, 1903.

RUSSIA AND CHINA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The excellent article of my friend Prof. G. Frederick Wright on "Russian Rights in Manchuria" needs a note on chronology so as to show who, in the Blagovestchensk affair, was the aggressor. Russia joined the allied Powers (except the United States) in making unprovoked war on China, by bombarding the Taku forts on June 17, 1900, when the Peking Government was embarrassed with the Boxer uprising, and before a Chinese regular soldier had fired a hostile shot. When Russia thus, with Great Britain, France, Japan, Germany, etc., had openly and wantonly declared war on China, what were the Chinese to do but attack and kill the Russians and their other hostile enemies wherever they could find them?

It is no wonder that the idea of "China against the world," instead of "the world against China," is the popular impression that obtains currency even among educated men. Let us look at the facts. Our American admiral, Lewis Kempff, who, on June 17, 1900, following our traditional policy from Washington's time, refused to make "entangling alliances" in joining with the allies in bombarding the forts at Taku, thus waging war with a nation with whom we were at peace, has thus far received not one word of official approval of his action, and this, notwithstanding that our successful diplomacy in China, since that eventful day of June 17, has been based on the thoroughly American action of the admiral then in charge of our naval forces in China.—Very truly yours,

WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

ITHACA, May 21, 1903.

THE CANADIAN TARIFF.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I must beg leave to correct an error in the review of Mr. Willson's 'Life of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.' The preference in favor of British goods in the Canadian tariff has not been cancelled in the revision of the tariff as I had been led to suppose.

YOUR REVIEWER.

May 23, 1903.

THE DESTRUCTION OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the letter of Prof. Lyon G. Tyler, in the *Nation* of November 20, 1902, he says, "This carries us to the war between the States in 1862, when the college was destroyed by the Federal troops."

The origin of the fire which destroyed William and Mary College is not clearly established. The main college building was burned September 9, 1862. In the early morning of that date the Fifth Pennsylvania Cavalry, which was then encamp-

ed about a mile east of Williamsburg as an outlying post of Yorktown, was surprised by a small Confederate force and driven in confusion towards Yorktown. The Southern troops returned towards Richmond about ten o'clock in the morning. Gen. E. D. Keyes was then in command at Yorktown. About noon of that date the writer, then a lieutenant of the Sixth New York Cavalry, was ordered by Gen. Keyes to pick up stragglers from the Fifth Pennsylvania, take them to their own regiment, ascertain the state of affairs in Williamsburg, and report to the General in Yorktown the same day. I arrived in Williamsburg while it was yet day. The main college building was then in ruins, and its appearance indicated that the fire had occurred a number of hours before. From all that I learned at that time, the origin of the fire was unknown. In 1894 Congress made an appropriation of \$64,000 for the rebuilding of the college.

The affidavit of two ladies of Williamsburg before the Congressional Committee as to the origin of the fire would not be sufficient, before an ordinary jury, to convict the Federal troops of having fired the building. These witnesses, in the fierce excitement and passion of the time, would naturally confirm in their own minds the belief that the college was fired by Federal troops. As the college building had been previously used for a hospital, it is quite possible that the Southern force, or part of it, which made the attack on the Fifth Pennsylvania, was concealed there on the night of September 8, and the fire may have been the result of an accident.

The statement that the second oldest college in America was wantonly destroyed by Federal troops during the civil war, should not go into history unchallenged.

Yours respectfully, E. P. MCKINNEY.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y., May 18, 1903.

POOR BOOKMAKING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With reference to the general condemnation of Wolfson's 'Essentials in Ancient History' in yours of May 7, let attention be invited to one point, his "vicious" style, as illustrated in the two paragraphs beginning near the bottom of page 13. To any one rusty in Asiatic geography, it will be a triumph to succeed in forming a clear image out of the author's jumble of expressions. And yet this book is the outcome of the most formal effort that historical students in this country have put forth for the advance of their branch. It is the result of the recommendations of a committee of the American Historical Association, though of course they are not responsible for the imperfections of the work. Still, it is an evidence, added to many others, of the unsatisfactory pedagogic standing of the study. Is the firm that issues it the one that lately sent out a brave prospectus of a coöperative history of this country? If so, we know what to expect. "B. C."

May 19, 1903.

BLIZZARD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To aid Mr. Matthews in his researches into the use of the word *blizzard*,

I will say that I went as a student in 1840 to Illinois College, Jacksonville, the oldest college in the State, and the first to graduate a class. I then found in use on the ball ground the word *blizzard* for any very forceful stroke of the bat. "He hit it a blizzard," we would say. The word was not in use at the same institution when I was there for a few months in 1836, nor was it used at Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, when I joined in the sports there in 1839. Transferred from Boston to southern Illinois in 1831, I had been from my childhood observant of dialect; but it did not occur to me to ask how the new word had been introduced at Illinois College in the interval.

SAMUEL WILLARD.

865 JACKSON BOULEVARD, CHICAGO,
May 23, 1903.

Notes.

A luxurious limited edition of Matthew Arnold's Complete Works in fifteen volumes will begin to be issued in June by Macmillan Co., and thereafter at monthly intervals. An exhaustive bibliography will form part of the last volume.

Dodd, Mead & Co., in autumnal anticipation, announce an American edition of Lang's 'History of Scotland'; biographies of Philip Schuyler, Milan (King of Servia), Cowper, and Thackeray, and a new volume of essays by G. K. Chesterton.

A library edition of Charles Kingsley's Works will be issued at the rate of two volumes per month by J. F. Taylor & Co. of this city. The editor is Kingsley's oldest son, Maurice, who supplies the introductions and other matter.

A full index to the entire Works of Emerson now in course of publication in an annotated centenary edition is promised by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The volumes of this edition, by the way, are to be had separately.

A new edition of Du Cange's Glossary ('Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatibus'), reproduced in facsimile after the original Paris edition of 1688, is being issued by subscription by Gustav Fock, Leipzig (New York: Lemcke & Buechner).

A plan is on foot in England to reorganize the Pipe Roll Society on somewhat different lines from the old society, and with every prospect of a permanent success. The original society suspended in 1900, from declining support, after a useful existence of sixteen years, having printed the rolls from the fifth to the twenty-first year of Henry II. It is proposed now to go on with the publication of these important financial documents to the second year of John, twenty-five in all. The use of "record type" in printing will be given up, and abbreviations will be extended, but in such a way as to indicate plainly all uncertain extensions. It is hoped that American scholars who are interested in the history of the period will give the plan their support. Names for membership should be sent to W. Farrer, Esq., Leyburn, R. S. O., Yorkshire.

The reprints of English classics have gone on during the week with three more volumes in the "Fireside Dickens" (H. Frowde), viz., 'Nicholas Nickleby,' 'The Old Curiosity Shop,' and 'American Notes,' containing the original illustrations; Lever's

'Harry Lorrequer' and Lord Lytton's 'Night and Morning' (London: George Newnes; New York: Scribners), delightful little volumes in flexible green and gilt covers, with engraved title-pages and frontispieces, together with one, more oblong, in blue, 'Poe's Tales,' whose frontispiece is a very successful dusky Poe composing beneath the bust of Pallas; and, in the well-known Dent-Macmillan "Temple Classics," Fanny Burney's 'Evelina,' in two volumes. With these we may couple two more issues in the Temple Bible (London: Dent; Philadelphia: Lippincott), 'Maccabees,' edited by W. Fairweather, and 'Ecclesiasticus,' edited by N. Schmidt, with the customary introduction and notes.

The latest addition to the "Muses' Library" is 'Thomas Campion; Songs and Masques, with Observations in the Art of English Poesy,' edited and published in London by A. H. Bullen (New York: Scribners). Mr. Bullen did so much to reclaim Campion from neglect by including him in his Elizabethan anthology of 1887, and by editing his collected works in 1889, that now, he says, this poet "runs the risk of becoming the subject of uncritical adulation." Meanwhile Mr. Bullen has had an opportunity of examining the only perfect copy known of the first edition of the Latin Poems ('Thomas Campiani Poemata,' 1595), which he reports upon, but the present collection omits these poems except in citations for the introduction. The editor challenges the descent of Campion as conjectured in the Dictionary of National Biography.

'Social England Illustrated' and 'Critical Essays and Literary Fragments' (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.) are reprints of selected tracts from Arber's well-known 'English Garner,' throwing light on the social conditions of the 16th, 17th, and early 18th centuries. Messrs. Andrew Lang and J. Churton Collins prefix very readable introductions. The former volume has no index, an unpardonable omission in a book of this kind. Why Professor Arber thought it necessary to "modernize" the spelling and grammatical forms of 17th-century texts is a question that still awaits an answer.

In 'Side-lights on Charles Lamb' (Charles Scribner's Sons) Mr. Bertram Dobell gives us the results of researches in the *London Magazine* and other contemporary sources for unrecognized contributions of Lamb. A number of these he thinks he has identified; and with respect to two, the "Appeal from the Shades" and "Delamore's Confessions," he seems to have made out a plausible case. Anecdotes of Lamb and of his literary friends are given, and a chapter is devoted to that strange Jekyll-and-Hyde personage, Thomas Griffiths Wainwright, whom Lamb knew only as a gay converser, sparkling essayist, and harmless coxcomb. The book is pleasant reading, for Lamb is so endearing a personality that we are thankful for even fitful side-lights upon him.

Mr. William E. Curtis's title, 'The True Abraham Lincoln' (Lippincott), stands confessed a pure catchword. The author assures us on his first page that Lincoln has been written out ("the subject of more literary composition than any man of modern times"—Napoleon, for example!), that he was a man without mysteries, whose conduct, morals, and motives have engendered no controversies, as his purposes no doubts,

and whose reputation is firmly and clearly established as none other more so "in American history, or in the history of the human family"! Then why the "true" Lincoln at this late date, as if other biographers had falsified? The book cannot be said to be called for. On the other hand it is "true" as far as it goes, but there is neither much merit nor completeness in the representation. The real question of "truth" is likely to be raised over Lincoln's actual appearance. The portraits of him are numerous, and range from common or vulgar almost to beautiful. Let any one compare those facing pages 60, 100, and 168, and try to imagine them the same man. The text is not free from errors and carelessness, and the index is lamentably poor.

'Wood Folk at School,' by William J. Long (Ginn & Co.), is, practically, the author's recent book, 'School of the Woods,' with the theoretical essays omitted and the stories presented in the guise of a school reader. Its main theme is the development, by instinct, training, and experience, of the habits of self-preservation in animals. The sketches include biological chapters from the life histories of the osprey, the great blue heron, the ruffed grouse, the porcupine, the deer, the moose, and the black bear. Such interesting and significant meetings with wild animals as Mr. Long describes could not easily be matched in the combined experiences of a dozen woodsmen or naturalists. The stories are well told (if not always in language easily comprehensible by the young) and finely illustrated.

'True Bird Stories,' by Olive Thorne Miller (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), is a book of short stories about the habits of certain caged birds and birds in the field. The statement in the preface that all the stories are strictly true, leads one to suspect that in some cases the author is either ambiguous in expression or mistaken in the interpretation of some of her pets' habits. For instance, she tells of a robin that felt disgraced because it had a worn and shabby feather, and of a parrot that, having vanquished a sparrow, crowed over her victory with the sound "Cr-r-r-cr-r-r." One must be well versed in avian psychology to generalize thus about a robin's mental sensations, and one would perhaps find, if one studied parrots closely, that the sound "Cr-r-r-cr-r-r" is a note not of victory but of alarm. Though the book will interest children, for whom Mrs. Miller intends it, its scientifically valuable observations are few in proportion to the large amount of material that passed under the author's eye, and it lacks the charm of style that belongs to some other popular books of this kind. The most interesting chapters are devoted to the English sparrow. One of these gives an account of a bird that sings a canary song. Some time ago Mr. Ernest Thompson Seton told of a similar case. The book is beautifully illustrated by Mr. Louis Agassiz Fuertes.

'The Water-Fowl Family,' by Leonard C. Sanford and others (Macmillan), is the third volume of the "American Sportsman's Library." It deals with ducks, geese, rail, snipe, and their allies, and includes a scientific description of each species and the methods of shooting each game bird. The numerous fine illustrations are by Mr. Fuertes. In general manner of treatment the book is similar to Mr. Grinnell's ad-

mirable 'Duck-Shooting in America'; that is to say, it is essentially a sportsman's manual, which tells the story of the hunt so vividly that one almost hears the whistle of wings, smells powder, and feels the thud of the bird brought to earth close at hand. The directions for shooting ducks in rice fields, for pass shooting, and for shooting from a sink-box, as well as for various other forms of sport, will be valuable to the novice. Decoys, both artificial and living, are particularly well treated. Mr. Sanford has shot game birds in New England, on the Chesapeake, on Currituck Sound, N. C., on the prairies of the Central States, and in Mexico. The book is concluded with the discussion of the water fowl of the Pacific Coast by the well-known sportsman-author, Mr. T. S. Van Dyke.

'Irrigation Institutions,' by Elwood Mead, is the latest addition to "The Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology" (Macmillan). The author, in a small volume of some 400 pages, discusses the economic and legal questions created by the growth of irrigated agriculture in the West, and throws a great deal of light on questions which have received renewed importance through the recent legislation on the subject at Washington. The author is an expert, and his twenty years' experience has given him a complete command of the subject, which he discusses in a very lucid and instructive manner. As engineer, chief of a Government bureau, lecturer and professor, he has had to deal with irrigation from every side, and his book should prove of great value, though of course it cannot be said to be for general reading. For lawyers it possesses much interest. The chapter on "The Doctrine of Appropriation" seems to show that, in the case of irrigation rights in the West, we have a clear instance of the growth of what Blackstone would have called "title by occupation."

Mr. E. T. Whittaker's 'A Course of Modern Analysis,' while not forming a complete and rounded whole, will greatly interest the genuine student of pure mathematics; and even those who are pretty well up in the subjects with which it deals will be very glad to refresh their ideas with this compact book, especially on account of the recent results that it contains, as well as for its giving some developments that cannot be called recent, but which have as yet hardly made their way into text-books. We do not consider its standard of logicity or of accuracy of statement to be the very highest; but this is perhaps an advantage, as it keeps the reader's mind on the *qui vive*. After eight chapters concerning series, residues, and connected topics, it proceeds to give an excellent chapter each to the Gamma Function, Legendre Functions, Hypergeometric Functions, Bessel Functions, and Laplace's Equation, and three chapters to Elliptic Functions—that is, to Weierstrass's forms, to Jacobi's forms, and to General Theorems, respectively.

The memorial service in Harvard's chapel in memory of the late Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, one of the most remarkable educators of her generation, former President of Wellesley College, has been fittingly recorded in a thin volume issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Five portraits, from childhood to middle life, afford a highly inter-

esting study of physical and spiritual development.

Various are the devices for replacing and supplementing the record pages of the obsolescent Family Bible. Such is the blank book, 'Happenings in Our Home,' published by Joseph Clark Bridgman, Boston, with some pictorial embellishment, pertinent quotations, gilt edges, and tasteful leather cover.

The new edition of James and Molé's 'Dictionary of the French and English Languages' (Macmillan) may conveniently be compared with the 1898 edition of Gasc. It is smaller in size, a plump 16mo, clearly printed, its bold-face rubrics being perhaps a little too light as those in Gascare a shade heavy for contrast and prompt legibility. The vocabulary is apparently less full, and omits geographical adjectives, e. g., *Ligurien, Garonnais*, such as Gasc conveniently gives, yet contains words and definitions not in Gasc. A very brief comparison will show that the works usefully supplement and need not exclude each other. In neither is the English-French portion completely correlated with the French-English. Thus, the later work, which defines *lignard* 'penny-a-liner,' omits penny-a-liner from the English vocabulary. Sewing-machine, on the other hand, will be sought in vain under *machine* or under *coudre*, as type-writer under *machine* or under *écrite*. For the rest, there are the usual lexicographical differences of practice, as when Gasc places the phrase *dents longues* under *dents*, James and Molé under *long*. The latter work alone indicates the pronunciation in both languages. The former is more profuse in slang and colloquialisms. Both are welcome and handy tools.

Of the numerous histories of German literature from the earliest times to the present day written by Germans during the last sixty years and combining conciseness with comprehensiveness in the treatment of the subject, those of Vilmar and Wilhelm Scherer have probably held the most prominent place and enjoyed the greatest popularity, especially as manuals of instruction, although the former is too strongly colored by the author's theological views in the criticism of modern literature, and the latter is not wholly free from æsthetic defects. These works are evidently destined and indeed already beginning to be superseded by Adolf Bartel's volumes, 'Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur' and 'Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart: Die Alten und die Jungen' (Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius), which possess all the good qualities of Vilmar and Scherer. The two volumes containing a general history of German literature are divided into eight "books" or sections, of which the first gives a condensed but careful study of old German literature from its origin to the end of the fifteenth century, and the second an account of the literary productivity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; two books are devoted to the eighteenth, and four (constituting the entire second volume) to the nineteenth century. Each book begins with a general survey of the period under consideration, followed by a characterization of the individual authors belonging to it and a special criticism of their writings. The skilful application of this method of treatment results in a singularly attractive sketch of the evolution of German literature, supplemented by details of personal information usually

found only in biographical dictionaries, without detriment to the artistic unity of the work as a whole. The same system is successfully applied to the second work, on German poetry of to-day, which is the most satisfactory compendium of the history of German poetry and fiction during the latter half of the nineteenth century hitherto published. It is difficult for one who is standing in the midst of any intellectual movement to form a correct estimate of its character and compass. This is why it is quite impossible for even the most impartial and keen-sighted critic to pass a full and final judgment on contemporary literature. Many of the elements which enter into the formation of such a judgment are necessarily wanting. With this inevitable qualification, the work, of which five editions have already been issued, is an admirable supplement to the general history of German literature.

A piece of information of pathetic interest is concealed in a little footnote on page 412 of the just published sixth part of Bugge's edition of Norwegian Old-Rune Inscriptions. It reads as follows: "Sophus Bugge, who, up to the present time has been the sole editor, has hitherto read squeezes of several of the inscriptions herein-after published, but now, when the inscriptions are to be published, he can, from infirmity of sight, neither read nor write. Magnus Olsen, therefore, from now on, will be co-editor." If this disability is to be permanent, it will to a certain extent mark the end of a singularly distinguished scientific activity. At the beginning of the present year, Bugge celebrated his seventieth birthday, on which occasion his pupils and friends among Norwegian philologists presented him with a fund, for the furtherance of some scientific purpose selected by him. He decided to use it for the establishment of scholarships for Norwegian students to study at other Scandinavian universities, in order thus to promote mutual familiarity and consequent good feeling among the Scandinavian peoples. Simultaneously with the news of Bugge's affliction comes the information that his son, a worthy offspring, has been awarded, as the first recipient, the Nansen prize for a treatise dealing with the influence exerted by Western, especially Irish, civilization on the Scandinavians, and particularly the Norwegians of the Viking period.

Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, No. 3, contains some interesting facts about the inhabitants of Yap, the westernmost of the Caroline Islands. They are decreasing in number largely because of their immoderate use of bad alcohol. Not infrequently the people of a whole district will be drunk for a week at a time. They have, nevertheless, some unusually good qualities, as generosity and fine feeling, of which instances are adduced. Their food, ornaments, industries, amusements (including twelve different games), family life, and government are described at some length. A peculiar custom is that of boring a hole through the cartilage separating the nostrils after death, if it has not been done before, in order, they say, that the man "may find the right house in heaven." There is also the description of a new way by which Russia plans to enter Persia—along the trans-Caucasian frontier to Tabriz and Kazvin, eighty-six miles north of Teheran. A concession to build a road along this

route has just been granted to a Russian bank, and work will be commenced at once.

The first annual report of the Schoolhouse Department of Boston is a public document, unique, if we are not mistaken, and of unusual value and importance. The Board, consisting of three Commissioners—Mr. R. Clipston Sturgis (a well-known architect) being Chairman—was appointed two years ago by the Mayor to exercise "all powers and authority with regard to taking of land, construction, and furnishing of new school buildings, and the repairs and alterations of old school buildings." This review of their work shows that they first solved the problem of insufficient school accommodation by building eighty-one one-story portable schools capable of containing fifty children each. Then they did all their appropriation permitted to improve the sanitary condition of the old buildings and to decrease the fire risks. In an appendix, five typical examples of "new sanitation" are described, with numerous illustrations. Some ten pages are devoted to instructions to architects and general information regarding internal arrangements, the planning and furnishing of the rooms in particular. There is a guarded reference to the efforts of the labor unions for recognition, and their criticisms of work executed by the Commissioners. In order to prepare themselves for their duties, the Board visited nine of our principal cities and examined their school buildings. Among other things, they found that "Boston was doing more in the way of gymnasia and bath facilities than any other city, with the possible exception of New York." Much information is given in respect to the authorized expenditures of the Board, and there is a "descriptive schedule of permanent school buildings." Frederic J. Cotton, M.D., contributes a report, with diagrams, on school desks and chairs.

—It is pleasant to notice a steady improvement in the volumes of the 'New International Encyclopædia' (Dodd, Mead & Co.) as they appear. Editors and contributors are evidently taking their task much more seriously, and the last three volumes, vii.—ix. ('Ethics—Infant Phenomenon'), are a marked advance on their predecessors. When the earlier volumes have been carefully revised, as we understand is being done, this work will make a fair approximation to fulfilling the claim of its title-page and prospectus. The departments which we have already noticed as good, continue in their path of virtue; some, indeed, as the classical rubrics, steadily improve. The Aryan and Iranian East continues to claim, if anything, disproportionate space, but the Semitic contributors fail to demand their fair proportion or to make good use of what they get. There is here, it is true, an improvement, but it should be carried much further, and the printing errors in these rubrics are still too numerous. The hack-work articles and the proofreading are in general, however, much better; such blunders as Emphorian for Euphorion (ix., 260) are comparatively rare. The case of the department of literature is still so curiously diverse as to be worth a word of comment. The articles of weight both for English and, perhaps still more, for foreign literature are of general fulness and ac-

curacy. So insufficient a treatment as the third of a column given to Herrick (ix., 364) is, in these later volumes, creditably infrequent. There are even some distinctly brilliant biographies. But the general fulness is not nearly so great as that devoted to the drama and, more particularly, the stage. On this side, however, that exuberance in notice of actors and actresses which characterized the earlier volumes has now, happily, been somewhat restrained.

—The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of the articles on literary references and names generally in imaginative literature. The subject, it must be admitted, is one exceedingly difficult to handle, but that cannot excuse the inadequacy, the waste of space, the ineptitude, the incompleteness and therewithal wordiness which characterize these rubrics at present. Examples of all these defects are to be found, e. g., in the articles Galahad, Galaor, Galapas, on two following pages of volume viii. Similarly, the article on Grim, where the romance of Havelok the Dane is said to belong to Arthurian legend. This interesting information is evidently derived from the 'Century Cyclopædia of Names.' Equally irritating and puerile are the articles on Excalibur and Excelsior; in the space, it would have been quite possible to convey a fair amount of information instead of simply using words. Disproportionate length is what ails such articles as those on Father Tom, Froment Jeune, Poe's 'Fall of the House of Usher,' and many others. The crude treatment of the 'House of Usher' alone will give shivers to any lover of Poe. Inexplicable omissions are easy to find. Gibbie, Goose (so entered), of 'Old Mortality' has his immortality doubly secured here, but not the Sir Gibbie of George MacDonald. So, too, are missing Euphorion—both as the son of Achilles in the shades and of Goethe's 'Faust'—Fitzgerald's 'Euphranor,' and many beside. An attempt to catalogue all the names in English literature must manifestly fail, but the selection might be better hit than here. We could easily do without the giant Galapas in exchange for Euphorion; and Guse Gibbie will be hard to seek under Gibbie, Goose, and not highly important when found. Evidently these little notices emanate from another source than that which furnishes the longer and infinitely more scholarly articles on literature.

—'The American Republic and its Government' (G. P. Putnam's Sons) is the title of a new work on American politics by Prof. James Albert Woodburn. It is "an analysis of the Government of the United States, with a consideration of its fundamental principles and of its relations to the States and Territories." It is designed for the field of study intermediate between "elementary text-books in civics" and that occupied by books (so far as there are any) like Bryce's 'American Commonwealth.' The volume is divided into eight chapters, which deal with the "Principles of the Fathers," the Federal Nation, the Presidency, the Senate, the House, the Judiciary, the States, and the Territories—a convenient system of treatment. Of course the whole subject is well worn, and it is difficult to say anything new about it. But historically the work is brought down to date, for it includes a discussion of the

Insular cases. It also contains—what most text-books of the sort, according to our observation, omit—an attempt to enumerate the provisions of what Mr. Woodburn calls our "unwritten Constitution," i. e., the political usages which, having no legal sanction, have grown to have the force of law. These, as he gives them, are six in number, and four of them may be regarded as practically established, though as to one of these his form of statement seems to us objectionable. Presidential Electors must vote for the party nominee; a President cannot be elected for a third term; a member of Congress must reside in the district from which he is chosen; and the Senate never rejects Cabinet appointments. We should be willing to admit that custom forbids a third consecutive term, but know of no principle on which the anti-third-term usage is founded which could possibly apply to disconnected terms. The remaining two—the committee system in Congress, and the obligation of the caucus—do not appear to us to involve Constitutional points; one is a matter of parliamentary custom, the other a pure party custom, really binding on no one, and indeed, if admitted to be binding, fatal to free government itself.

—Among recent law books is a valuable collection of 'Cases on International Law' (English and American), edited by James Brown Scott, with a syllabus and annotations (The Boston Book Co.). It is based on Dr. Freeman Snow's well-known 'Cases and Opinions,' but the changes made are many and radical, and the result is an independent work. An important point to notice is that Mr. Scott's underlying idea is, as he says himself, that international law is part of the English common law; that the American colonies inherited it as such; that on their admission to the family of nations they recognized it, and that it is to-day part of the municipal law of the whole English-speaking world—English and American courts of justice have been enforcing it for two centuries. On "the vexed question whether it is law in the abstract," the author expresses no opinion, but he need not have been so non-committal, for the best proof of the existence of law that we can have is exactly this often overlooked fact, that it is enforced by courts of justice all over the world. A prize court, for instance, is a court of international law, though it is established in a particular country; and a belligerent who brings a prize into it must abide by its decision, though it involve the release of his prize. The fact that there is a large portion of international law that is not enforced by judicial decision and rests on custom does not seem any ground, therefore, for denying the existence of international law, as law. Austin objected that there was no superior power to enforce it—no "sanction." This volume contains nine hundred cases to the contrary.

—Since the year 1895, when Professor Goodyear announced his discovery of horizontal curves in the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, the publication of the results of his examinations of buildings classical, mediæval, and Renaissance for their optical refinements has proceeded so rapidly that the list of titles now reaches twenty. In these papers Professor Goodyear has established, too fully to permit of contradiction, the proposition that many of the singular and otherwise inexplicable irregu-

larities in mediæval buildings were due to a desire on the part of their builders to relieve the structure from the deadly precision from which modern work suffers. That a large proportion of such irregularities were in reality optical refinements of a certain sort, due neither to the negligence of the builder nor to settlement of the structure, must be acknowledged by every candid person who has read with care such papers as "Optical Refinements in Mediæval Architecture" or "Perspective Illusions in Italian Churches." It is, however, in his latest work, 'The Architectural Refinements of St. Mark's at Venice' (volume 1., No. 2, of *Memoirs of Art and Archaeology of the Brooklyn Institute*; New York: Macmillan), that Professor Goodyear puts forth his most convincing array of facts. Singular irregularities in the lines of St. Mark's are obvious to all but the most casual observer, and indeed to these irregularities is due no small part of the church's peculiar charm. It seems to have been taken for granted that these deviations from the normal were chiefly to be ascribed to faulty foundations and consequent settlements, but Professor Goodyear has, by careful surveys and by clear reasoning based upon them, demonstrated that such irregularities (or at least the more important of them) must have existed from the time of the original construction of the fabric.

—Briefly summing up a few of these results, we find that the inner face of the outer walls of the church leans outward some three to six inches in a height of sixteen feet; that the nave piers lean outward slightly in sympathy with the walls; that the nave wall-face from pier caps to gallery leans still more perceptibly; and that the nave wall-faces above the gallery to the springing of the great arches over the nave fall away from each other so rapidly as to cause the liveliest surprise when their actual inclination is known. The amount of this widening is so great that a line stretched across the nave at the springing of the main vault is nearly three feet longer than if stretched upon the pavement. That a spreading of three feet in the abutments of the arches which span the nave might have taken place without a total destruction of those arches and of the dome which they carry, is unthinkable. No adequate expression can here be given to the value of the work thus done at St. Mark's. Bearing in mind, however, the fact that the surveying of St. Mark's is but a small part of a great series of observations which he has made, we urge upon Professor Goodyear the importance of collecting the results of his labor into a work in which they will lose the transitory character of magazine articles and pamphlets, and where they may be presented in a more orderly and adequate manner than has been possible in their original form—a work which, in brief, should as worthily portray the optical refinements of mediæval architecture as does the monumental volume of Penrose those of Athenian architecture.

—The Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche of Bergamo has begun to issue a series of illustrated monographs under the general title, "Italia Artistica." Their purpose is to give a summary account of the most interesting Italian cities, laying special stress

on architecture, sculpture, and painting. The latest of these monographs, 'Venezia,' by Pompeo Molmenti, is a model of what such works should be. In the course of perhaps 25,000 words, he describes the evolution of the city of Venice from the earliest times down to the present, showing not only what transformations time has wrought in the various schools of architecture and painting, but what monuments still remain of each period and master, and blending all with a brief narrative of the historical and social career of the Venetians. In spite of the laudable compactness, the account is written with so much fervor that it is unfailingly charming. It is as if the man best qualified in all the world took the reader through Venice, visiting the churches, galleries, and palaces, and exploring the remotest canals and *calli*, and told how each work originated, and how far it represents the age to which it belongs, or the master who created it. Sig. Molmenti is easily first among living authorities on the history and art of Venice, and he is one of the few really able writers of Italian. Whoever has studied this field will admire the sanity of his judgments on art not less than his clear grasp of Venetian history. The little quarto volume is illustrated by 132 excellent half-tones, and its cheapness (3.60 lire) should give it wide popularity. Other cities already announced in this series are Ravenna; Ferrara; Girgenti, Segesta, and Selinunto; Urbino; San Marino; and Prato—with more to follow. The volumes, if they approach Sig. Molmenti's model, will be indispensable to travellers, students and the average intelligent reader.

A LEIPZIG PUBLISHER.

The Life and Times of Georg Joachim Goschen, Publisher and Printer of Leipzig, 1752-1828. By his Grandson, Viscount Goschen. London: John Murray; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1903.

Probably most readers of this bulky memoir will lay it down with a feeling that there is too much of it, although the subject is undeniably an interesting figure. Beginning almost without capital, in the year 1785, and facing the most discouraging conditions on account of the lack of effective copyright laws in the German states, Göschchen rapidly built up a good business. His personal qualities endeared him to Schiller, with whom he continued in intimate relations until about 1793, when the rising star of Cotta caused a temporary estrangement. He also published the first collective edition of Goethe, won for himself the sobriquet of "the German Elzevir" with a monumental edition of Wieland, and delighted the classical scholars of his day with the superb Greek types of Wolf's *Iliad*. And many other notable men were among his clients. He had a large capacity for friendship, and combined in a remarkable way the qualities of a romantic sentimentalist with those of a level-headed and sagacious business man. Such a personage, standing in such relations, was clearly worthy of a biographic memoir, even after the lapse of more than a century. That Viscount Goschen's tribute to him has expanded into two thick volumes is due to the partiality of a grandson.

But any criticism directed at the undeniable diffuseness of the work is in a measure disarmed by the author's engag-

ingly modest preface, in which he states that he has written rather for the general public than for savants or literary experts, and that he has been trammelled from the first by the difficulty of deciding to what class of readers he should attempt to appeal. He says of himself:

"I wish that I had been more competent to travel in his [the grandsire's] company through the vast field of literary topics involved in the life of a publisher whose activity ranged over forty-three years. A busy political career has left me unable to explore sufficiently the mass of Goethe and Schiller literature which a century of devoted study and eager criticism has developed to an impenetrable bulk."

And again:

"Having been a reader, not a writer, of books all my life, I have sometimes felt a shade of resentment against the assumption on the part of an author that I was acquainted with a number of facts and dates of which I had the misfortune to be ignorant. . . . Accordingly, finding myself continually compelled to allude to the effects of wars, congresses, treaties, and political catastrophes on the personal destinies of my grandfather and his group of clients, I have not shrunk from giving in briefest outline, and, where possible, in chronological order, such European events as bore upon my narrative. I have done this at the risk of recounting what 'every schoolboy should know,' but what, as a matter of fact, many educated people know but imperfectly."

The Viscount's willingness to accommodate himself to the limitations of the unlearned British public is shown at the outset by his changing his grandfather's name from Göschchen to Goschen, experience having shown him "from his schoolboy days at Rugby that the unfamiliar modified vowel is a source of perplexity and of diversity of pronunciation in this country." For our own part, we prefer not to follow his example, but to write the name as its owner wrote it, and as it has been familiar to students of German literature for a hundred years and more.

The narrative is devoted mainly to the history of Göschchen's publishing business—his negotiations with authors, his financial perplexities, his warfare with the pirates, his successes and failures. At the same time the human side of him—love, marriage, friendships, personal traits, etc.—is not neglected. And along with all that, we get numerous historical retrospects and digressions *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. Thus, a chapter, and an interesting one, is devoted to a history of the Leipzig book trade. Another gives an account of different efforts on the part of authors to escape from their bondage to the publishers by founding coöperative societies or by publishing on subscription. As we read along, our memoir gives us a sketch of the life of each new writer who is gathered in by Göschchen's enterprise. Thus, we get a somewhat extended account of Schiller, Körner, Wieland, Klopstock, Iffland, and others. Here the author relies mainly on familiar sources, but is able to contribute some new matter in the way of unpublished letters from Göschchen that have been preserved in the family archives or acquired for this memoir.

On the whole, while the well-informed student of the German classics will find in the work much that he can safely omit, and while he will not be greatly profited by its literary appreciations, he will get from it a very good picture of the German literary industry in the Revolutionary and

Napoleonic periods. One sees how contracts were made, what prices were paid, and how, even in those golden days, publisher and author sometimes conspired to prepare the way for cooked reviews. Interesting side-lights are thrown upon literary history. For example, it is well known that the new works which Goethe sent home from Italy in 1787-8 were received rather coldly. This little fact is brought out vividly by the following extract from a letter written by Göschen, September 2, 1787:

"I am annoyed to see that only a hasty critique of Goethe has appeared. Publishers who have taken copies as a speculation want to return them. *Iphigenia* is not understood, the *Brother and Sister* is tiresome, the *Triumph of Sensibility* is out of date and comes too late, and the *Birds* is too obscure. The devil alone knows what these people may want. The public must be taken by the nose and led up to it. Then I shall have no fear. Do your utmost to insure a clever critique of it soon."

After such an experience it is not strange that Göschen lost faith in Goethe and fixed his hopes on the more popular Wieland, whom he admired idolatrously. When the 'Metamorphosis of the Plant' was offered him in 1790, he declined it with thanks, and in so doing made the mistake of his life. An eager acceptance at any price would have been, just at that stage of the game, a good stroke of business. As it was, Goethe drifted with Schiller into the hands of Cotta, who was no less enterprising than his Leipzig rival, and had a surer instinct for literary merit. Göschen was left to his monumental edition of Wieland, which taxed his resources and his energies for years. This was his greatest professional achievement. It brought him only moderate returns in money, but great renown as a typographer.

The character of Göschen, as it emerges from the totality of the memoir, is that of an amiable, quick-tempered man, of tireless energy, and of strict probity in business relations. He hated the pirates and lost no opportunity to denounce them. To circumvent them he resorted occasionally to the expedient of "pirating" his own publications, that is, of issuing them anonymously in a cheap edition, having the appearance of stolen fruit. Yet, notwithstanding a certain fiery pugnacity, he could on occasion sentimentalize with the best of them. He writes to his wife from Switzerland in 1792—several years after their marriage—addressing her as "My heavenly Jette," and gushing thus about the Lake of Zürich:

"It was a lovely evening. The sun set in indescribable beauty behind the mountains, and then the moon shone over the lake; anon I saw her over a church, anon she cast broken rays athwart high trees upon the water, anon she gleamed on the sails of ships or silvered the waves. The houses, too, which form an uninterrupted line on each side twenty-four miles in length, were lit up. My breast expanded perforce. Involuntarily I sang songs, and tears of joy gushed from my eyes. Enjoyment was so strong that my heart needed an utterance."

The Napoleonic incubus brought bitter and peculiar trials to Göschen. After the battle of Jena, business came to a standstill, and he was near to insolvency. He recovered in a measure, but had no longer the capital or the spirit to undertake fine enterprises for honor's sake. When the final struggle against the Corsican came,

his home at Grimma was on the highway of vast contending armies, and suffered terribly. He himself was mildly a German patriot, and two of his sons were in the patriot army. At the same time he was a loyal Saxon, and his king was in alliance with Napoleon. The French censorship of the press was galling, but there was no help save in the triumph of the Prussian "enemy." In these desperate circumstances Göschen bore himself with religious fortitude. After Waterloo his business went on, but was no longer of great importance. He died in 1828, worthy, certainly, of a better epitaph than that which he once lightly suggested for himself: "The poor devil meant well, but he had no luck."

The memoir is handsomely and very accurately printed, and supplied with numerous excellent illustrations in the way of portraits, facsimiles of handwriting and of title-pages, and specimens of Göschen's best work as a printer.

THE CARLYLES.

New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle. Annotated by Thomas Carlyle and edited by Alexander Carlyle. With an Introduction by Sir James Crichton-Browne. With sixteen illustrations. 2 vols. John Lane. 1903.

The letters contained in these volumes are, as Sir James Crichton-Browne says in his introduction, "residual in character"—that is, they are those which Mr. Froude "multilated or put aside," he having, "of course, selected from Mrs. Carlyle's writings whatever was of most literary merit or popular interest." Still, they are "intrinsically worthy of publication," while "adscititiously" they deserve attention "because they clear up some obscure points in a complicated controversy, and help towards a just judgment of two prominent figures in our English Pantheon."

Of the letters themselves he says that, like those published in 1833, they are open to the criticism that "they are overloaded with domestic details about spring-cleanings and other housewiferies, trivial incidents of travel, intricate itinerary arrangements, and complaints of postal 'irregularities'; but as Froude had already introduced 'such superfluities,' while omitting 'much that was essential to the understanding of her story,' elisions in the letters that are intended to refute his story were to be avoided. Had Mrs. Carlyle's correspondence as a whole to be edited *de novo*, 'a very different method of dealing with it from that adopted would have been followed.' Besides all this, the letters 'sparkle with wit; they afford delightful glimpses of the meagre fireside in Cheyne Row, around which the great ones of the greatest epoch of a great age were glad to gather; they throw illuminative side-lights on memorable events, and, above all, smooth out the dents and brush away the stains and blurs with which negligent usage and venomous breathings have blemished and tarnished the most massive and shining literary reputation of the last century."

The introduction proceeds in nearly a hundred pages to re-analyze the Carlyle story, to re-expose Froude, and to give what Sir James Crichton-Browne believes to be the true view of the characters and mar-

tal relations of Carlyle and his wife. Froude's great mistake, it seems, was that "it was deeply rooted in his mind that Carlyle had, throughout their whole union, behaved badly to his wife," and had "deputed him, as a sort of literary undertaker, to superintend a posthumous penance in the publication of his confessions." As all preconceived ideas have their starting-point, the origin of this misconception lay in a misunderstanding of Carlyle's use of the word "remorse." Carlyle's nature was noble and generous, and hence of "a peculiarly self-accusatory type. He was fond of strong language, and uses exactly the same word—the strongest he can think of—whether he is speaking of his feelings of regret for idleness when he had been resting; after an imaginary failure in the delivery of a lecture; and over his wife's grave. The writer of the introduction makes the very just observation that it is

"characteristic of men of fine intellect that, when nipt by the autumnal frosts, they manifest excessive testiness on the one hand, and excessive self-reproach on the other; and that when bereaved they arraign themselves, without a jot of justification, of high crimes and misdemeanors against the lost one. I have seen an eminent but aged man of science in a fever of distress until he had written a letter of apology to a servant maid, to whom he had not without warrant, said a sharp word; and I have had to listen to an exemplary husband vaguely, but piteously, recounting imaginary atrocities to his departed spouse."

His wife noticed Carlyle's love of self-accusation and tried to laugh him out of it. Froude was misled by it into thinking that Carlyle had been a great sinner against his wife. It is a characteristic trait, and, we may add, throws light on Carlyle's writing as well as on his domestic life. It is this violence of language, this exaggeration of expression, which tends to deprive his later style of light and shade, and makes him so strong in his vocabulary of oburgation. All this part of the introduction is original and clear. It is when the writer comes to discuss Mrs. Carlyle that we feel more doubt.

According to Froude, it was an ill-assorted match, and the faults were on Carlyle's side; according to Sir James Crichton-Browne, it was a natural enough marriage, and if everything did not go smoothly, the faults were greatly on Mrs. Carlyle's side. As to their difference in station, he does not think it amounted to much; at any rate, it is ridiculous to impute this as a fault to Carlyle, whom she married from "ambition." As to his barbarity in taking his wife to Craigenputtock (of which Froude gives such an unlovely description), it was no "desert," though she called it one (she, too, acquired a taste for exaggeration), but a "wildly beautiful place," and, moreover, "a perfect sanatorium for a case like hers"—i. e., for a nervous subject. If she took part in household drudgery, it was unnecessary, for they had a servant; if she milked the cows, she need not have done so, as there were plenty of milkmaids within call; she herself expressed perfect content with her life there.

Having thus disposed of the Froudean Craigenputtock legend, the story carries us to London, where the "Ashburton Episode" is discussed. A widespread impression has been created that Carlyle at this

time gave his wife grave ground for jealousy. This idea seems to have for its chief support the evidence of Miss Geraldine Jewsbury, a not very weighty witness; but jealousy there undoubtedly was, and "as jealousy is a malignant and metastatic growth, we need not be surprised to find her soon giving way to more unworthy suspicions, and to bitterness and despondency."

All this is very fair and the introduction is thus far convincing, but we think it goes too far in undertaking an analysis and explanation of Mrs. Carlyle's frame of mind which relieves Carlyle of Froude's imputations only by casting a melancholy shade over his wife. In plain English, she suffered at this time from "mental disturbance," which would be technically called "on its psychical side climacteric melancholia, and on its physical side neurasthenia." For several years pain and sleeplessness had led her to take morphia, and "it is a secondary action" of this drug "to induce unfounded suspicions and even delusions of persecution in those who habitually indulge in it." She also was addicted to "excessive tea-bibbling," and smoked cigarettes. Hence a nervous breakdown at a critical period of life was to have been expected. This nervous breakdown, accompanied by "delusional beliefs," was coincident with the appearance of Lady Ashburton on the scene. There were also, but, as we understand it, at a later period, "suicidal promptings" as the "only escape from insanity."

This medical autopsy on poor Mrs. Carlyle's mind does not produce exactly the impression intended. A doubt will intrude itself, how much real relevancy has all this to the question at hand? Of course, it has a bearing on the value of what Mrs. Carlyle herself says, but it does not at all disprove the fact, if it is a fact, that Carlyle was excessively fascinated by Lady Ashburton. This ought to be disproved, if it is to be disproved, by some independent testimony. The evidence adduced here is unsatisfactory and inconclusive. The controversy over these graves illustrates the difficulty of all attempts to reconstitute the intimacy of conjugal life for the benefit of the public. When we read Mrs. Carlyle's lively letters, as when we read the journal of her husband, we are almost satisfied to leave it all as we find it. Short of the judgment-seat, such an inquiry as Sir James Crichton-Browne has proposed to himself will not be absolutely final. Nor can the reader help reflecting that nine-tenths of the differences which arose between Carlyle and his wife are much like nine-tenths of the differences which arise in a thousand households, and which really mean far less between closely united husbands and wives than they would between human beings less bound to one another.

We have spoken at length of the introduction, because it furnishes a framework for the letters, and is a sort of brief, for which they supply the documentary evidence. Mrs. Carlyle was a born letter-writer, and no one can take up these volumes without finding in them something amusing, witty, gay and original. With all their strength, they are thoroughly feminine. In her notebook she jots down among her memorabilia that "letters are of the neuter gender," but she spent her life in disproving it. A great number of them possess no particular interest;

but this, as the introduction explains, was to be expected.

HIGGINSON'S WHITTIER.

John Greenleaf Whittier. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. (English Men of Letters.) The Macmillan Co. 1902.

The writer of this book can have had no thought of its superseding Mr. Pickard's admirable life of Whittier, a model of biographical sincerity. There is cordial recognition of the importance of Pickard's volumes, and many apt resorts to them for illustrative material. It is conceivable that Mr. Higginson might have had his English readers more in mind, the book appearing in an English series, and been more careful to instruct their ignorance. Actually, he makes his appeal preëminently to American readers, and, modestly anxious lest he should tell them what they know already, he is more sparing of detail than was to have been expected in a book that takes its place in a series which, while aiming at brevity, aims also at completeness. The fact that he was for several years a preacher in Newburyport and hence Whittier's neighbor, not to speak of many subsequent visits, preserves his account of Whittier's local environment from being a mere matter of hearsay. In his familiarity with Whittier's anti-slavery connection he has a more than compensating advantage for his lack of that which gave the 'Longfellow' its local charm. Indeed, the principal interest of his book is concentrated in the three chapters which cover Whittier's anti-slavery career, "Enlistment for Life," "The School of Mobs," and "A Division in the Ranks." Preceding these we have chapters on childhood and school days, and "Whittier as a Politician."

Mr. Higginson makes no attempt to soften the harshness of the "surprising revelation" of the Pickard book concerning Whittier's early political doings and affiliations, though his briefer exposition tends to minimize the effect of that revelation. One finds it difficult to keep the poet's anti-slavery service from being infected with a taint of unreality by those doings and affiliations. Mr. Higginson is silent about Whittier's withdrawal from professional politics in 1843, when a Congressional election was fairly within reach, but the state of his health issued an interdict that could not be reversed—whence it would seem that his ill health quite as much as his anti-slavery spirit was his good providence, for had he, in 1843, entered on a successful political career, it is hardly possible that we should have had that part of his message which has most endeared him to the world. Mr. Higginson invites us to see that the gift of political management, "which at first seemed to threaten him with danger, became, in its gradual development a real service to the cause of freedom." The support of this view is slight enough, while it is quite certain that, had he remained "inside politics," he would have become subdued to what he worked in to a lamentable and ruinous degree, for all his stout adhesion to the anti-slavery side.

Turning to the chapters which reflect this most vividly, we find at the outset some confusion of dates, that of the publication of Whittier's poem "To William Lloyd Garrison" being given as 1831 (p. 48), and on the next page his letter to Garrison, reply-

ing to an invitation to attend the American Anti-Slavery Convention, being also dated 1831, for 1832, 1833 respectively. Whittier's own account of that convention serves Mr. Higginson as an excellent *mémoire*, and, with a subsequent page of Whittier's on the persecution of the Quakers, gives a better impression of the poet's prose than Mr. Higginson's critical comment on its general character. The fact appears to be that his prose style was best when he was thinking least how he could make it fine. Whittier's experience of pro-slavery mobs is detailed in a very interesting chapter. His biographer was less called to veil with anonymity "one of the most eminent of Boston philanthropists" who not many years since called George Thompson "a foreign carpet-bagger," in view of Dr. Hale's recent reversion to that note in his 'Recollections of a Hundred Years.' To find two of Webster's nieces, daughters of Ezekiel, at one of Whittier's most mob-distinguished New Hampshire meetings, is a conjunction of extreme felicity. The chapter treating of the division in the anti-slavery ranks attempts to hold a just balance for the weighing of the merits of the controversy whose ashes are still warm. Hardly would one infer that Mr. Higginson's sympathy with Garrison's disunionism was as pronounced as possible. He gives us momentary pause when he writes that Whittier was "more strictly executive than Garrison," but his book contains no page of greater interest than that describing the relations of the Garrisonians and Liberty Party men and their different qualities. He says:

"It must be owned, in viewing the attitude of these two dividing factions, that the Disunionists were in general the more interesting class personally and more eloquent in speech than their voting brethren, precisely because they could speak without the slightest reference to policy or organization; and that the very leaders of the latter, such as Whittier and Samuel E. Sewall, happened to have no gift of platform eloquence, though much faculty of organizing and conciliating; that the very fact of the entanglement of voting abolitionists with party leaders who never thoroughly belonged with them, such as Clay and Van Buren, was an embarrassment and a hindrance; and, finally, that the immense and unflinching weight of the women as non-voters was thrown on the side of Garrison and his party."

The comparison of Whittier with Garrison is continued in the chapter on Whittier's personal qualities. "Step by step, Whittier saw his own political opinions established; while Garrison lived to be content with seeing his specific counsels set aside, and his aims accomplished by other methods than his own." The comparison is more rhetorical than real. The methods of war were as little Whittier's as Garrison's. The method of disunion was Garrison's, not Whittier's, and it was the method by which slavery was destroyed. And why should not Garrison "join in the chorus of triumph over the reëstablishment of the Union," when it was a Union without slavery, while the political party with which Whittier finally allied himself withdrew, not only from the abolitionist attack on slavery in the States, but also from the Liberty Party attack on slavery in the District of Columbia, and fell silent in its platforms of 1856 and 1860 with regard to the Fugitive Slave Law?

"Whittier at Home" affords a pleasant

chapter. We read of his liking for Rossetti's "Sister Helen," and of its enhancement by his recollection of his mother's burning the waxen image of a clergyman in the hope of compassing his death and sending him to hell. His religious conservatism, which prevented his attending the marriage of a Friend who married "out of the Society," was paralleled by Emerson's injunction upon Fredrika Bremer, when she proposed to give a sample of Swedish music: "No, Miss Bremer, it is Sunday evening; I would rather not." Whittier's general religious attitude and his particular relation to the Society of Friends are made sufficiently clear. The whole of "My Birthday" is given as the final illustration (the first stanza marred by misprints in the third and fourth lines). "Early Loves and Love Poetry" is a chapter-title that covers abundant witness to Whittier's sensibility to the loveliness of woman, with some discussion of the mooted points in his heart's history.

A single chapter on "Whittier the Poet" may seem scanty treatment of what is most important, but it is not as if this chapter had not much support from several of those preceding it. Mr. Higginson remarks our ignorance of the origin and shaping of Whittier's poems, and his "gain in all ways from the strong tonic of the anti-slavery agitation," which trained him in simplicity and directness, and made him permanently high-minded. There appears to be much more self-disclosure in his verse than there was in his conversation. He had no knowledge of music, and could be induced by his "fool friends" to change his most musical lines for those less so, as,

"Pulse o' the midnight beating slow"

to

"Like the night's pulse, beating slow."

As compiler with Samuel Longfellow of "Thalatta," we expect, and not in vain, Mr. Higginson's pleasure in the salt breath of the sea which blows through Whittier's verse. How he differed here from other poets is well exhibited; his defects of execution are allowed; his sure feeling for the value of proper names is emphasized; and other traits get their due word. As to Whittier's vogue as hymn-writer, it might have been said that he owes it mainly to Samuel Longfellow's extraction of hymns from his longer poems, and that not one of Whittier's intentional hymns is ever sung. For Whittier's general relation to New England, Mr. Higginson goes to Mr. Stedman. What he brings away is admirable, but nowhere would we more willingly have heard him speaking in his own voice than here.

CONGO STATE HORRORS.

Civilization in Congoland: A Story of International Wrong-doing. By H. R. Fox Bourne. London: P. S. King & Son. 1902. Map. 8vo. pp. xvi. 311.

This history of the Independent State of the Congo is told from a single point of view. The two main objects for which the State was founded by the Powers at the Berlin International Conference of 1884-'85 were to secure freedom of trade and to protect the natives in the Congo Basin. The aim of Mr. Fox Bourne is to show that these ends have been completely lost sight of in the attempt to make the enterprise

a financial success. With copious extracts from official documents, accounts of travellers, missionaries and agents, he traces the successive steps by which free trade has been abandoned and the State has become a huge monopoly—its sovereign being "the biggest ivory and rubber merchant in the world." Foreign traders have been practically driven out, and the whole territory has been divided for exploitation between the State and half-a-dozen Belgian companies. In carrying out this purely commercial policy the natives have been ruthlessly deprived of their natural rights. They are no longer permitted to gather "any products of the forests and the plains, which are the common property of their tribes, and in which their forefathers from all time have enjoyed every freedom, have hunted unhindered, and have gathered the juice of the palm tree, the sap of the rubber vine, and any and all other products which abound in the country." Not only are they deprived of their natural rights in the land outside of their villages, but they are practically enslaved through the exaction of a tribute in rubber. The collection of this tribute in some districts is the duty of the *force publique*, a body of State troops composed largely of ferocious cannibals. The accounts of the atrocities of these savages (under the command of white officers) committed in the discharge of this duty, would be absolutely unbelievable were they not vouched for by the unimpeachable evidence of numerous trustworthy white eyewitnesses. Similar evidence is given to show that the much-vaunted anti-slavery crusades against the Arabs degenerated into mere filibustering expeditions, having for their sole object the extension of the authority of the State. The condition of the natives of these regions in many instances (not in all, as the testimony of Sir Harry Johnston recently quoted by us shows) is far worse under their new rulers than it had been under their slaveholding lords. The Arabs introduced a measure of civilization which the Belgian troops destroyed and did not replace. To meet the expenses of these expeditions, the Government legalized a system of *prestations* or levies, apparently chiefly of forced labor, which, with the rubber tribute, became the rule and authority for every sort of oppression and extortion.

The present condition, then, as regards the fundamental reasons for the existence of the State, is this: Absolute free trade has been abandoned, with the consent of the Powers, on the plea that import duties were indispensable for administrative needs. But there has been little or no development of the vast agricultural resources of the country. On the contrary, there are unmistakable signs of a decrease of all native industries save the collection of rubber and ivory. For instance, the exports of coffee have declined from a value of over \$200,000 in 1889 to \$12,000 in 1901, though in the same period the forced rubber tribute has risen from \$400,000 to nearly nine millions. In regard to the protection of the natives, it is enough to say that the fear of the Belgians is driving them from their old homes on the natural highways of their country, the rivers, into the impenetrable forests. A comparatively recent traveller on the Congo writes that he did not see a single purely

native village on its banks between Stanley Pool and Stanley Falls, a distance of a thousand miles. A similar statement has been made within a few weeks respecting its great southern tributary, the Kasai, by an American missionary, the Rev. William Morrison, who has just finished a term of six years' service in that region. His homeward voyage of eight hundred miles on this stream was through a country formerly thickly dotted with villages, but now containing less than a dozen. Even more terrible is the fact, of which there can be little doubt, that, through the employment of cannibals, cannibalism is on the increase, notwithstanding its prohibition by decree. The natives have learned, to use the words of a former Belgian official, "that human flesh is useful as an article of food." But the evils of this commercial policy are not confined to the Congo State. The enormous dividends of the privileged companies—those of the Abir, in which King Leopold's shares were valued in 1902 at over five million dollars, in 1899 and the two following years were 270, 470, and 245 per cent, respectively—have led the French to institute the same system in their Congo territory. They have parcelled out more than half of it within the last three years into huge concessions among upwards of forty companies. "It is significant that these companies, albeit French in name, have been mainly instigated and encouraged by Colonel Thys and other Belgian promoters." Then a grave menace to the life of the State itself is the training a great body of savages in the methods of civilized warfare, and providing them with the necessary arms. In addition, according to the testimony of the acting head of the American Presbyterian mission on the Kasai, the State "habitually arms, whenever it deems necessary, thousands of auxiliaries, cannibals for choice!"

The unprejudiced reader of this volume cannot escape the conviction that Mr. Fox Bourne has proved his case. It is true that he has made some mistakes. We have detected a few unimportant errors in his figures on page 251, and on page 33 he gives a wrong date for Mr. Stanley's second Congo expedition. He has at times relied on untrustworthy testimony. If it be objected that he draws too dark a picture and makes little or no reference to the progress of some districts near the coast, it should be remembered that he is not writing a general history of the State, but is simply striving to show that it is not even attempting to accomplish the ends for which it was established. The subject is not a new one to him, but his book is the culmination of a series of efforts in the past few years, as the secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, to arouse his countrymen, by appeals to Parliament and public meetings, to a sense of the wrongs of the Congo native.

The line of defence against these charges is perhaps sufficiently indicated by quoting the words of King Leopold last January, in response to an address by a committee of the British Baptist Missionary Society. After asserting that, "of course, we pay and treat well the working natives," he goes on to say: "You know that there is no perfection on earth. I know, too, that, although much remains to be done, great progress has been made in the Congo under my rule, and we cannot expect to reclaim at once a

race from centuries of barbarism. It is impossible to bring about a state of perfect civilization in a few years." In other words, the numberless crimes against humanity committed by his agents are but the regrettable incidents which inevitably accompany every attempt to reclaim a barbarous race. But the word "international" in his title shows that Mr. Fox Bourne places the ultimate responsibility for this "wrong-doing," not on the King, but on the nations whose representatives gave him absolute power over a territory 900,000 square miles in extent, with a population of thirty millions. And the nation upon whom the chief responsibility rests is the United States. This country was the first "to recognize the flag of the International African Association as the flag of a friendly Government." By this action it practically put an end to the attempt of Great Britain to secure absolute freedom in the navigation of the Congo, as well as the suppression of every form of slavery, through a treaty with Portugal, the only Power then interested. Some time after this our representative, Mr. Kasson, at the second meeting of the Berlin Conference, said in reference to this recognition that the President sanctioned it because he believed that through the Association "the enormity of the slave traffic will be suppressed, that the blacks will learn from it that the civilization and the dominion of the white man mean for them peace and freedom, and the development of useful commerce, free to all the world." This Government, then, should take the lead in an effort to secure the reassembling of representatives of the Powers who formed the Berlin and Brussels Conferences for the purpose of considering radical measures by which these ends may be reached.

A Book of the Country and the Garden. By H. M. Batson. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903.

The unpleasant pictures of the swine on pages 21 and 216 of this book, and the more unpleasant illustration of "agricultural depression" on page 259, certainly prejudice the reader. These engravings and a number of others scattered through the volume are decidedly unattractive, and lead one to think that a vein of coarseness must run through the text. The exact contrary is the case. The account of the Garden and of the Country Around, beginning in March and closing with the end of February, is refined and truthful in touch, and fascinating in style. The author has come with her brother to live in a cottage near the manor house and estate which should have been his, but which, by the will of a capricious testator, has fallen into other hands. Around this cottage a garden is slowly formed, and its mode of growth is interestingly described. The author appears to be thoroughly acquainted with numerous books on garden-planning and garden-keeping, and also knows well the class of garden books of which we may take 'Elisabeth and her German Garden' and Alfred Austin's 'Garden That I Love' as conspicuous examples. In the author's garden, planned to suit herself and to provide quiet walks for her brother, a student of philosophy, the resources of the gardener's art are somewhat severely taxed, and with good results. The twelve months go by with their changing outdoor

cares and pleasures. The calendar is instructive, especially for its independence. A good many amateur gardeners can take timely hints from the story of the successes and the failures. The account is given with frankness and in good taste, and is encouraging rather than disheartening.

Now on this somewhat tangled thread of the story of a garden the author twists most gracefully the slender threads of two or three pleasant love stories. Two of these have been elsewhere given by her, but they were too pretty to be lost in the pages of old magazines. In one of these stories she brings the owner of the manor house (which should have been her brother's) to make a birthday call, on her coming of age.

"Magdalen stepped up the straight path and demanded to see Jim and me.

"I am of age to-day," she said. 'I am eighteen and I may do as I like. I want you to let me know you: I want to be friends. I am of age and my own mistress, and I have been longing for it just that I might come to you. You won't send me away?'

"There was a suspicious break in the fresh young voice, and I kissed her, and I am sure that Jim would have liked to kiss her, too. The feud was at an end from that moment, and even the intolerable mother, when we went home that morning with Magdalen, tried to pretend that it had never existed. . . . Hardly a day passes that she does not come to us or we to her, and I have known her secret long ago, though she had never told it. But Jim, being a man, is stupid at seeing, or, if he sees, he keeps his counsel well."

The counsel is well kept until the closing paragraph of the book. Another story, that of Meschach's treasure, is charmingly told. We can give only its ending.

"I think you might find it just here."

"But I have looked just there. I've dug it all up. I don't believe there isn't no treasure. Is there, Nancy?"

"Not if you think there isn't, Meschach."

"He said it was under that apple tree."

"Well?"

"And there's nothing under the apple tree."

"Nothing, Meschach, except me."

"Meschach looked at her stupidly for the space of a minute, and then a great light spread over his honest countenance. He caught naughty Nancy in his arms. 'My pretty dear,' he cried."

Petunia's story is almost as good as these. Other digressions—for instance, the account of the old and the new vicar, the shudders caused by two terrible children, and the recital of the attempted revival of old-time country customs and Christmas mummers' play—add much interest to this volume.

The American Vignola: Part I, The Five Orders. By William R. Ware, Professor of Architecture in Columbia University. Boston: The American Architect and Building News Co. 1902. Thin quarto, pp. vii, 46, eighteen plates.

Professor Ware supplies an interesting preface made up in part of his personal reminiscences. He gives also the names of some of his assistants and his authorities, and the reasons for his decision to call his book after the famous sixteenth-century architect and critic. He holds that there are readier ways of laying out classical and neo-classical orders than by constant reference to 'Modules and Minutes,' and quotes

his own master, Richard Hunt, in that connection. The forty-six pages of text, pretty well crowded with illustrations, to which a very wide margin is given up in a sensible fashion, begin with a brief analytic explanation of why a building is what it is, and how its principal details come into being and take shape. We note here the assumption that all buildings are classical buildings. But for this impression, common in the architectural schools of the day, we should not have the "beam that spans the space between two piers or columns and the like," called an architrave or epistyle. The word lintel is ignored, and the constructional member is merged in the architectural member which often, though not always, even in classical work, becomes identified with it. So we should not have the top member of a cornice called the corona, a term which is exclusively classical in the architectural sense; but these and other failures to be precise come from the strong and over-mastering desire to be concise. The statement that a cornice comes of projecting the wall at the top to support the overhang of the roof is true about half the time only, and this and other such failures in logic are also to be charged up to the general discredit of brevity in composition.

As Plate One deals with mouldings, so the first division of the text, after the introduction, is devoted to that subject. The mouldings illustrated and described are all Greco-Roman or modern classic, with the exception of a single figure in the text. The second division of the text is devoted to "The Orders," with text illustrations, and to this succeeds immediately the description of Plate Two, which has to do with Vignola's comparison of the orders, five of them plus the Greek-Doric. The plates from Three to Fifteen are devoted to the different orders, and have each a brief text. There follow two plates of details and one of "Superposition and Intercolumniation," and the book closes thus with its eighteen plates.

It will be seen at once that the small treatise is intended for the students of our modern architectural schools. There is a world apart which these schools represent—a world of paper architecture in which designs are made flat, and in which exultation over a clever drawing is quite equal to that which the practising man feels in a working structure of merit. Professor Ware is not to blame for this state of things; and it is quite within the scope of his right and duty to produce one more manual for the students who fill his own and other classes—the men who are studying architecture as a profession.

The Economic Interpretation of History. By Edwin R. A. Seligman. Macmillan Co. 1902. Pp. ix., 168.

Nothing is more significant in recent economic and historical work than the keen interest aroused by the phrase "the economic interpretation of history." The agitation of the "pure" historians has its counterpart among those economists who are desirous of saving us from "historical materialism." Those who have followed the controversy are beginning to realize the force of Mark Pattison's assertion that it is not "as a question of literature, but as the first condition of practical wisdom, that the

interpretation of history presses upon the attention." We are obtaining a body of undeniable generalizations of social facts, and the philosophical historian is no longer under the imputation of employing an hypothesis as the basis of his reasonings. Professor Seligman's book is notable reflection of the progress of scientific interest in this direction, and his work is an indication that the question is no longer one of mere theory, but an eminently practical speculation from which we are to obtain a real enlightenment of the practical judgment.

But it is not easy to discover just how fruitful Professor Seligman finds this particular explanation. He takes pains to impress us with the fact that "an" should be substituted for "the," and that we have but a relative, not an absolute, explanation of the "niceties of human development." At one moment we are impressed with the author's admiration of Marx's analysis of industrial society and his economic interpretation of history; then, from a desire to save "the spiritual factors of history," we get some queer reflections that relegate this interpretation to the archaeologists; and finally, with a confusing interchange of the phrases "historical materialism" and "economic interpretation of history," we have a sketchy chapter on "exaggerations of the theory," that fails to give a clear conception of that doctrine "in a sublimated form" which "contains so large an element of truth and which has done so much for the progress of science."

Nothing is more inexcusable than the linking together of Brooks Adams and Professor Patten as copartners in "invalid applications of the theory." Neither of these writers has anything in common with the Marxian view, nor can they be dismissed as simply fanatics or over-enthusiastic advocates. Furthermore, Adams, with his solar-energy theory, has a radically different point of view from Patten, who insists that, although economic conditions are the primary source from which all elements of national character arise, it is a mistake to think that the national character is nothing more than the ruling motives of the economic world. Adams is frankly physical-economic, while Patten argues for the play of the psychical in economic development.

Professor Seligman also attributes a belief in "historical materialism" to Belfort Bax, and insists that his efforts have not met the great objection "that the theory of economic interpretation neglects the ethical and spiritual forces in history." Mr. Bax's views are clearly revealed in "The Materialistic Doctrine of History" in 'Outspoken Essays,' where he says:

"I maintain that no sort of demonstration has been given of the possibility of resolving any single epoch-making speculative, moral, or æsthetic conception into being the product of mere economic circumstance. This may enter into it and modify it in its realization, but it has never been shown that it can explain it more than partially. The same remark applies to any historical period or event. This, too, has never been exhaustively explained as a product of past or present conditions, although in certain cases I admit it may be sufficiently so for practical purposes. Just as society has a distinct economical development, so it has also a distinct psychological development; the interaction of these two lines of causation giving us social evolution in the concrete" (p. 50).

If Bax is an "historical materialist," what then does the phrase mean?

In his overestimation of Marx, Professor Seligman has failed to make clear the meaning of the literature of the economic interpretation of history. Whatever historical materialism may have been in the hands of the scientific Socialists, it has nothing in common with what is now called economic interpretation, which emphasizes a radically opposite group of factors, and holds to a rational anti-catastrophic conception of economic change—all of which Professor Seligman regards as an exaggerated application of Marx's theory. Such books as this only prolong the reign of inane language and crude thought that comes from such reflections as those of Mr. Kidd over "the meaning of the causes" for which our "civilization has wrought and suffered for a thousand years."

The Household of Faith: Portraits and Essays. By George W. E. Russell. New York: Edwin S. Gorham. 1902.

In an earlier work which had some circulation in this country, 'Collections and Recollections,' Mr. Russell gave his readers a series of amusing reminiscences such as would naturally be at the command of one who has spent his life in close intimacy with the best English political society of the last century. One of the essays in that volume, the paper on Cardinal Manning, has been reprinted in the present collection, to which it is better suited. Mr. Russell's title is Lightfoot's translation of St. Paul's phrase, *τοὺς οἰκίους τῆς νίκης*, and in it he includes laymen as well as church dignitaries who have led religious thought in England along the lines laid down by the Tractarians in the thirties. All the essays have been printed before, partly in the *Nineteenth Century*, partly in the *Pilot*. To one who reads them consecutively in their present form, they are impressive as a singular testimony to the religious life of England during the past sixty years. To the student of theological history they are a valuable summary of the problems of doctrine and of discipline that have shaken the Church of England since her convalescence from the "Roman fever" of early Victorian days.

About half the essays are biographical notices of great Churchmen such as Archbishop Benson and Bishop King of Lincoln, or of certain saintly and distinguished laymen like Mr. Gladstone and Theodore Talbot, those two "young men of great possessions" whose ruling passion was the Church and the *haute politique* of the Church. That is the chain which binds together all these men, of whom Mr. Russell writes with enthusiasm and eloquence. He has well earned the derisive title of "Prolocutor of the Catholic Revival" bestowed on him by Sir William Harcourt in 1899, and we imagine that the republication of these studies in a form that will appeal to a wider public is a sort of challenge called forth by the recent Kensit agitation. Ritualism had been allowed to develop in peace, and had quietly superseded evangelicalism, when the late Mr. Kensit rose in his wrath and recalled the persecutions of a generation ago. The Lambeth judgment of Archbishop Temple against incense was a severe blow to Mr. Russell and his friends, and in one of the final essays, "A Mockery, a Delusion, and a

Snare," he bitterly contrasts the Temple of 'Essays and Reviews' with Temple the Primate. He considers that the late Archbishop created a crisis by yielding to the "bogus agitation" of Kensit and his followers, and awoke in the High Church party that old hankering after Disestablishment which had been allowed to sleep, at any rate since the famous trial of the Bishop of Lincoln. There is no doubt that the successors of the Tractarians welcomed every movement that severed Church and State and made for Disestablishment. In his essay, "Ritualism and Disestablishment," Mr. Russell quotes Mr. Gladstone as writing in 1874 that the negation by authority of the doctrine of the Real Presence would lead to the disruption of the Church. One of the main objects of the Oxford Movement of 1833 was to shake off state control of the Church.

"The Oxford Movement was, in one of its most important aspects, an attempt to recall men's minds to the conception of the Church of England as a spiritual society holding its essential constitution direct from Christ, and only accidentally allied with the secular state." . . . "Some of the more ardent spirits of the Movement—such as Hurrell Froude—felt the galling fetters of Establishment with special keenness; and, generally speaking, the attitude of the Oxford writers and those who sympathized with them was that of

" 'Watching, not dreading, the despoiler's hand' " (p. 381).

The Ritualists of the sixties and seventies were in favor of Irish Disestablishment, and were even eager to extend the process to England. The Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 was, as Beaconsfield said, "a bill to put down Ritualism." Once more a loud cry in favor of Disestablishment arose from within the Church.

Mr. Russell's essay on the religious development of Mr. Gladstone is one of the most interesting. One remembers how Cardinal Manning wrote of Gladstone in his old age: "He was nearer to being a clergyman than I was. He was, I believe, as fit for it as I was unfit." Mr. Russell records the fact that though Gladstone gave up his desire to enter holy orders at the bidding of his father, who was bent on his becoming a politician, "he used to denounce, even with vehemence, that overweening exercise of the *patria potestas* which diverts a young man from the course on which his heart is set." Few people, probably, think of Gladstone as the possessor of an essentially artistic temperament, but it is thus that Mr. Russell accounts for his natural taste for ceremonial and his sympathy with the Ritualists. Mr. Russell was present at his deathbed, from which Gladstone sent his farewell message to Oxford: "There is no expression of Christian sympathy which I value more than that of the God-fearing and God-sustaining University of Oxford. I served her, perhaps mistakenly, but to the best of my ability. My most earnest prayers are hers, to the uttermost and to the last."

Next to Mr. Gladstone, Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, is Mr. Russell's hero and model of saintliness; the essay which describes his career as a Churchman is headed "The Angel of the Church of Lincoln." He tells a good story of young King at Oriel, under the provostship of the formidable Dr. Hawkins. "At the end of King's first term, the Provost called him up to the high table in the College Hall, and, after inspecting the Chapel Register, said, 'It

would appear, Mr. King, that you have attended Divine service in the college chapel twice a day every day since the commencement of the term.' King modestly admitted that it was so, and probably expected a word of praise. But he did not know the Provost, who promptly said, 'Beware, Mr. King, of letting your religion degenerate into a routine. You can go.' "

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Abbott, Irene. *The Ministry of Love*. Topeka (Kan.): Crane & Co. \$1.
- Acheson, Arthur. *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*. John Lane.
- Adams, John Quincy. *Diary of*. Life in a New England Town: 1787, 1788. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Altken, J. R. *The Sins of a Saint*. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
- Avebury, Lord. *A Short History of Coins and Currency*. E. P. Dutton & Co. 60 cents.
- Barbour, R. H. *The Land of Joy*. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.50.
- Barnett, Harriet. *Angelo, the Musician*. Godfrey A. S. Wiersma.
- Blackwell, Antoinette D. *Sea Drift*. James T. White & Co.
- Boardman, G. D. *Ethics of the Body*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$1.
- Boone, H. B., and Brown, Kenneth. *The Red-Fields Succession*. Harpers.
- Borsdorf, A. T. W. *On the Literary Theories of Taine and Herbert Spencer*. London: David Nutt.
- Bevier, Louis. *Brief Greek Syntax*. American Book Co.
- Bowker, R. R. *The Arts of Life: (1) Of Education; (2) of Religion*. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 75 cents each.
- Buffon. (*Pages Choieses des Grands Ecrivains*. Edited by Paul Bonnefon. Paris: Armand Colin. 3 fr. 50c.
- Burney, Frances. *Evelina; or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. 2 vols. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. \$1.
- Burnie, R. D. *Idle-Hour Flights*. Gay & Bird. Es. 6d.
- Conway, B. L. *The Question-Box Answers*. The Catholic Book Exchange.
- Coubertin, Pierre de. *La Chronique de France*. Paris: Pierre de Coubertin.
- Crandall, F. M. *How to Keep Well*. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.50.
- Curtiss, C. C. *The American Standard Bookkeeping*. American Book Co.
- Edwards, Louise B. *The Tu-Tze's Tower*. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates.
- Fairweather, W. *The First and Second Book of the Maccabees*. (The Temple Bible.) London: J. M. Dent & Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
- Ford, P. L. *Janice Meredith*. (Players' Edition.) Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.
- Funk, I. K. *The Next Step in Evolution*. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 50 cents.
- Gronau, Georg. *Leonardo da Vinci*. London: Duckworth & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 75 cents.
- Hemenway, H. D. *How to Make School Gardens*. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.
- Herbert, Alice. *Between the Lights*. John Lane.
- Hoppin, J. M. *Great Epochs in Art History*. New edition. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.75.
- Hornung, E. W. *No Hero*. Scribners. \$1.25.
- Hulbert, A. B. *The Old Glade (Forbes's) Road*. (Historic Highways of America.) Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co.
- James, William. *Puerto Rican and Other Impressions: Poems*. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Jewish Encyclopedia. Vol. IV. Edited by Isidore Singer. Funk & Wagnalls.
- Lansing, Robert, and Jones, G. M. *The Government and Civil Institutions in New York State*. Silver, Burdett & Co.
- Lawrence, William. *Phillips Brooks: A Study*. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 50 cents.
- Lever, Charles. *The Confessions of Harry Lorrequer*. London: George Newnes; New York: Scribners.
- Lewis, A. H. *The Black Lion Inn*. R. H. Russell.
- Lindsay, W. M. M. Val. *Maritima: Epigrammata Selecta*. Henry Frowde.
- Luigi Amadeo di Savoia (Duke of the Abruzzi). *On the "Polar Star" in the Arctic Sea*. Translated by William Le Queux. 2 vols. London: Hutchinson & Co.; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$12.50.
- Lytton, Lord. *Night and Morning*. London: George Newnes; New York: Scribners. \$1.25.
- Macgillivray, E. J. A. *Treatise upon the Law of Copyright*. London: John Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$8.
- Magnus, Lady. *First Makers of England: Julius Caesar, King Arthur, Alfred the Great*. E. P. Dutton & Co. 60 cents.
- Mapes, Ella S. *Because of Power*. G. W. Dillingham Co.
- Maclair, Camille. *The French Impressionists (1860-1900)*. London: Duckworth & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.
- McCaleb, W. F. *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.50.
- McFadyen, J. E. *Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church*. Scribners.
- McKie, Thomas. *Lyrics and Sonnets*. (Second Series.) Edinburgh: David Douglas.
- Meredith, Isabel. *A Girl among the Anarchists*. London: Duckworth & Co. 6s.
- Messerschmidt, L. *The Hittites*. London: David Nutt.
- Miller, Alice D. *The Modern Obstacle*. Scribners. \$1.50.
- Moore, F. F. *Castle Omeragh*. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
- Newell, W. W. *The Legend of the Holy Grail*. Cambridge (Mass.): Charles W. Sever & Co.
- Nieboer, H. J. *Slavery as an Industrial System*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Novicov, J. L. *L'Expansion de la Nationalité Française*. Paris: Armand Colin. 3 fr.
- O'Connor, J. C. *Esperanto*. Fleming H. Revell Company. 60 cents.
- Palmer, Frederic. *The Drama of the Apocalypse in Relation to the Literary and Political Circumstances of its Time*. Macmillan. \$1.25.
- Faton, F. H. L. *L'Onal of Lenakel: A Hero of the New Hebrides*. Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.50.
- Pembridge. *Whist or Bumblepuppy?* New ed. Frederick Warne & Co. \$1.
- Pempler. *The Poker Manual*. Frederick Warne. \$1.25.
- People of the Whirlpool. *From the Experience Book of a Commuter's Wife*. Macmillan. \$1.50.
- Pier, A. S. *The Triumph*. McClure, Phillips & Co.
- Poe, E. A. *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*. London: George Newnes; New York: Scribners. \$1.25.
- Pratt, Nanette M. *The Body Beautiful*. Baker & Taylor Co.
- Prideaux, S. T. *Bookbinders and Their Craft*. Scribners.
- Proffitt, W. *The Creation of Matter*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners. \$1.
- Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, Vol. VI. Edited by Hugh Hastings. Albany: Published by the State of New York.
- Reeves, W. P. *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*. 2 vols. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$7.50.
- Reinach, Salomon. *Recueil de Têtes Antiques Idéales ou Idéalisées*. Paris: Gazette des Beaux Arts.
- Representative Art of Our Time. Parts 4 and 5. (The "Studio" Library.) John Lane. \$1 each.
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